133915/C

W. III. 12.

22101539769

~~6 E~~ ⑬ 19507
23d30

olland 517
10/07

PORTRAITS

OF

Illustrious Personages

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

ENGRAVED FROM

AUTHENTIC PICTURES IN THE GALLERIES OF THE NOBILITY
AND THE PUBLIC COLLECTIONS OF THE COUNTRY.

WITH

BIOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL MEMOIRS
OF THEIR LIVES AND ACTIONS.

EDMUND LODGE, ESQ. F.S.A.

[illegible]

VOL. X.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR HARDING AND LEPARD.

[illegible]

PORTRAITS

OF

Illustrious Personages

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

ENGRAVED FROM

AUTHENTIC PICTURES IN THE GALLERIES OF THE NOBILITY
AND THE PUBLIC COLLECTIONS OF THE COUNTRY.

WITH

BIOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL MEMOIRS
OF THEIR LIVES AND ACTIONS,

BY

EDMUND LODGE, ESQ. F. S. A.

VOL. X.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR HARDING AND LEPARD.

1835.

19507

~~BYPA.41.AA8(2)~~

WELLCOME INSTITUTE LIBRARY

CONTENTS OF VOLUME X.

---

1. WILLIAM CAVENDISH, FIRST DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE. RILEY. 1707
From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Devonshire, at Chatsworth.

2. SIDNEY GODOLPHIN, EARL OF GODOLPHIN, KNELLER. 1710
From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Marlborough, at Blenheim.

3. THOMAS OSBORNE, FIRST DUKE OF LEEDS, V. VAART. 1712
From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Leeds, at Hornby Castle.

4. QUEEN ANNE, - - - KNELLER. 1714
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Egremont, at Petworth.

5. GILBERT BURNET, BISHOP OF SALISBURY, KNELLER. 1714-15
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Hardwicke, at Wimpole.

6. JOHN, FIRST LORD SOMERS, - - KNELLER. 1716
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Hardwicke, at Wimpole.

7. CHARLES TALBOT, DUKE OF SHREWSBURY, KNELLER. 1718
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Shrewsbury, at Heythrop.

8. JOHN CHURCHILL, DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH, KNELLER. 1722
From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Marlborough, at Blenheim.

9. RACHAEL WRIOTHESLEY, LADY RUSSELL; COOPER. 1723
From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Bedford, at Woburn Abbey.

10. ROBERT HARLEY, EARL OF OXFORD, KNELLER. 1724
From the Collection in the British Museum.

11. SIR ISAAC NEWTON, - - KNELLER. 1727
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Egremont, at Petworth.

12. FRANCIS ATTERBURY, BISHOP OF ROCHESTER,
From the Bodleian Gallery, Oxford. KNELLER. 1732

13. CHARLES MORDAUNT, THIRD EARL OF PETERBOROUGH, - - - - DAHL. 1735
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Liverpool, at Combe Wood.

14. JOHN CAMPBELL, SECOND DUKE OF ARGYLL, AND DUKE OF GREENWICH, - - KNELLER. 1743
From the Collection of the Honourable George Agar Ellis.

15. SARAH JENNINGS, DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH, LELY. 1744
From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Marlborough, at Blenheim.

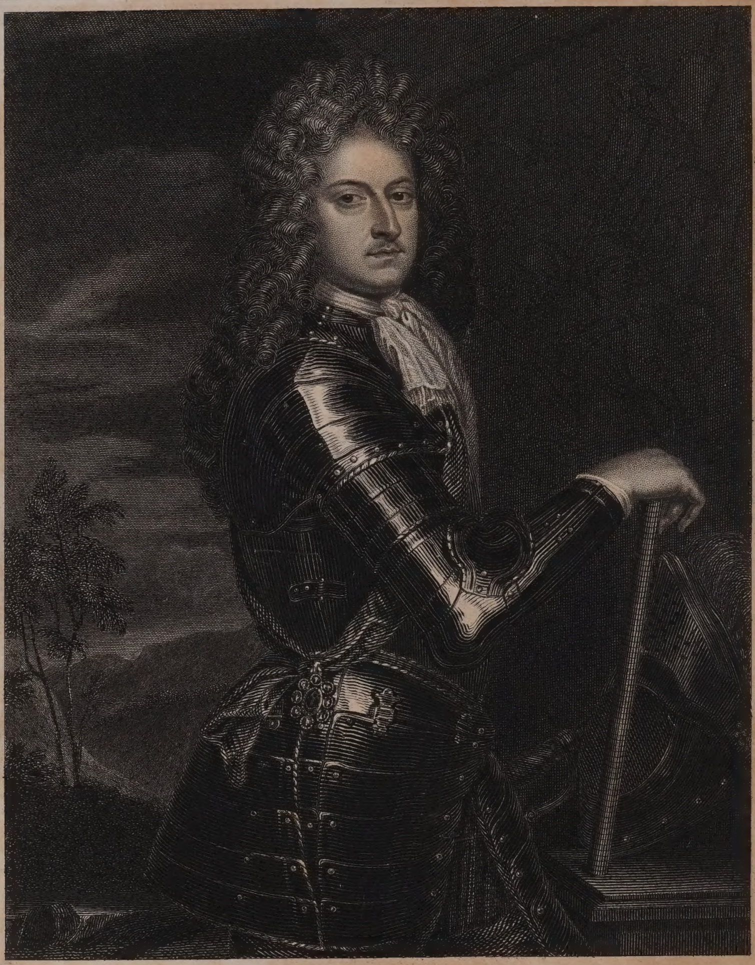
16. JAMES BUTLER, SECOND DUKE OF ORMOND, KNELLER. 1745
From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Devonshire, at Chatsworth.

17. ROBERT WALPOLE, FIRST EARL OF ORFORD, JERVAS. 1746
From the Collection of Thomas Walpole, Esq. at Stagbury.

18. CHARLES SEYMOUR, SIXTH DUKE OF SOMERSET, KNELLER. 1748
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Egremont, at Petworth.

19. JOHN MONTAGU, SECOND DUKE OF MONTAGU, KNELLER. 1749
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Egremont, at Petworth.

20. HENRY ST. JOHN, FIRST VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE, KNELLER. 1751
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Egremont, at Petworth.



Engraved by W. Finden.

WILLIAM CAVENDISH, FIRST DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE.

OB. 1707.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF RILEY, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE.

London, Published March 1, 1835, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

WILLIAM CAVENDISH,

FIRST DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE.

It is strange that the all-accomplished writer of the "Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors" should have allotted but four lines to his commemoration of this distinguished person, whose character seemed to offer a theme peculiarly suited to the inclination of his mind, and the taste of his pen. It exhibited, with the highest polish of a courtier's manners, and the most universal urbanity, a resentment not less fierce than sudden, and a courage which bordered on temerity; the severest purity of public principles, with the careless gaieties of a man of pleasure. Statesman, orator, poet, musician, and architect, and, if not excellent, at least falling little short of eminence, in each of those qualities, the Duke of Devonshire may be fairly allowed a place in that constellation of highly gifted nobles who ornamented, as well as enlightened, the period in which he flourished.

He was the eldest of the two sons of William, third Earl of Devonshire, by Elizabeth, second daughter of William, second Earl of Salisbury of the Cecils, and was born on the twenty-fifth of January, 1640. He received his early education at home, and there can be little doubt that his tutor was Thomas Hobbes, who had served his father and grandfather in that capacity, and was a constant inmate for upwards of seventy years in their house, where he died in 1679. The notorious scepticism however of that extraordinary old man has perhaps induced the suppression of this fact, while some circumstances in the future life of the pupil have tended to favour its probability. Be this as it might, we are distinctly told that, after a short residence, rather for the sake of form than for the acquisition of learning and science, in the

University of Oxford, he was committed to the care of Dr. Henry Killigrew, one of the three remarkable brothers of that name, and afterwards Master of the Savoy, who accompanied him in the usual continental tour, and successfully cultivated in his mind the taste for polite literature in which that gentleman was himself an acknowledged master. On his return, in 1661, he was chosen one of the representatives for the county of Derby, for which he continued to serve while he remained a commoner, and became at length a distinguished ornament, when the character of the times seemed to him to call for his earnest exertions, to the lower House of Parliament.

In March, 1665, he was one of the brilliant train of noble volunteers who attended the Duke of York in his expedition against the Dutch, and braved the greatest hazards with a carelessness of his person which at once fixed the reputation of his courage. Another example of this ardent disposition occurred soon after on an occasion very different. He had accompanied his friend Mr., afterwards Duke, of Montague in his embassy to Paris in 1669, where, on some sudden offence received at the opera from three officers of the royal guard, and instantly resented by a blow, all at once drew on him, and, in a most resolute defence of himself, he received from them several severe wounds, and narrowly escaped with his life; nor was his gallantry less remarkable in afterwards interceding on their behalf with Louis the fourteenth, who had resolved to punish them severely for so scandalous an outrage. That there was more to his credit in these anecdotes than has reached us is evident from the fact that we find in the letters of Sir William Temple, then the English Minister at the Hague, one to this young Nobleman, expressly for the purpose of complimenting and congratulating him on the fame that he had acquired in these affairs, "which I do," says Sir William, "not only as a private person, and servant of your Lordship's, who wishes you all increase of honour that may not be bought too dear, but withal as a public minister, who ought ever to consider above all things the honour of our nation, and knows that the complexion of it in times of peace is very much either mended or spoiled in the eyes of strangers by the actions and carriage of particular persons abroad. I can assure your Lordship all that can be said to your advantage upon this occasion is the common discourse here, and not disputed by the French themselves, who say that you have been as generous in excusing your enemies as brave in defending yourself," &c.

It was not till some time after this period that the Lord Cavendish, which was the title then borne by him, seems first to have taken any conspicuous part in public affairs. In the fermentation of parties, which now rose to the most extravagant height, it could not be reasonably expected that a spirit so ardent should remain long inactive. He joined firmly but decorously, in all the measures of those who opposed the Court, and what was called the Popish party. A feud which in the summer of 1677 occurred between the King and the Commons, on their invasion of the Royal Prerogative by addressing his Majesty to enter into an alliance with the States General, and which was met by Charles with an equivalent breach of their privileges, in commanding their Speaker to adjourn the house, gave occasion to Cavendish to make his first important display there. He opposed the adjournment with vehemence, and moved a resolution declaratory of the independence of the Commons in such cases, which would have been carried had not the Speaker prevented it by adopting the coarse expedient of quitting the chair. In the same session he gave a remarkable proof of his spirit and perseverance in sifting to the utmost, and at length successfully, a mistake made by one of the tellers on a division very important to his party, in which the numbers, though reported equal, had in fact given him a majority.

This activity, and the address with which he employed it, recommended him powerfully to his political friends, and they presently filled his hands with business. In the first session of a new Parliament, which met in October, 1678, he was named to serve on no fewer than eight committees—for privileges and elections—for framing an address to the Throne for the removal of all Popish recusants beyond a distance of ten miles from London—for examining into the cause of the death of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey—for preparing a bill to prohibit the sitting of Papists in Parliament—to examine Mr. Coleman, then imprisoned in Newgate, respecting what was called the Popish Plot—to confer with the Lords on the same subject—to form a representation to the King of "the danger likely to arise by the non-observance of the laws made for the preservation of the peace and safety of the kingdom"—and, finally, on the committee appointed to manage the impeachment of the Earl of Danby. In the course of these various engagements he became necessarily a frequent, and very soon an eminent speaker. His addresses to the House were distinguished not less by soundness of argument, and purity and variety of expression, than by a fluency of utterance which rivetted attention, and a dignified boldness and firmness, which however never strayed beyond the limits either of good manners or good humour. Thus highly qualified for a popular leader, he became so formidable an adversary that when Charles, in the spring of 1679, professed to discontinue the use of a Cabinet, and to govern solely by the advice of an open Privy Council of thirty-five, of whom five were to be members of the House of Commons, the Lord Cavendish, as a mark of peculiar grace and confidence, was summoned as one of the latter number.

From a mixture of opposite partizans, which seems to have been the main principle on which this Council was founded, no union could have been reasonably expected but through a preference of self interest to honour and good faith, and the event presently fell out accordingly. On the King's resolute determination in the following year to resist the bill for the exclusion of the Duke of York from the succession, and his consequent dissolution of the Parliament, several of the Members, and among them the

Lord Cavendish, requested the King's leave to retire from their new charge, to which Charles, in his characteristic way, answered "with all my heart." Their secession seems to have been the signal for a sudden access of fury to the leaders of the opposition, who, from that hour began to associate themselves with the known enemies of the State, and plunged into the most desperate designs. Cavendish was of this number, and attended their secret meetings, with his dear friend the Lord Russell, with whom he had quitted the Council, but he happily withdrew himself from them in time. "In some one assignation," says Bishop Kennet, who has left us a few particulars of his life, "he is said to have condemned a bold overture which was then made, and to have declared with great earnestness when he came back that he would never more go amongst them." This resolution appears to have been dictated more by principle than prudence, for, though he kept it rigidly, he ceased not to acknowledge, and even cherish, them as private friends, nor did he in any degree relax the activity nor the severity of his public conduct. On the trial for high treason of Lord Russell, which soon followed, Cavendish attended, and gave the most favourable testimony in his power; and, after the condemnation of that unhappily misguided nobleman, sent to him, by Sir James Forbes, a proposal to enable him to escape, by coming to him in the Tower; exchanging habits; and remaining there in his stead, a voluntary prisoner—an offer yet more grandly refused than tendered. He, last of Russell's friends, took leave of the noble sufferer, who, on approaching the block, returned a few steps to add to his final farewell a word of exhortation to a religious life.

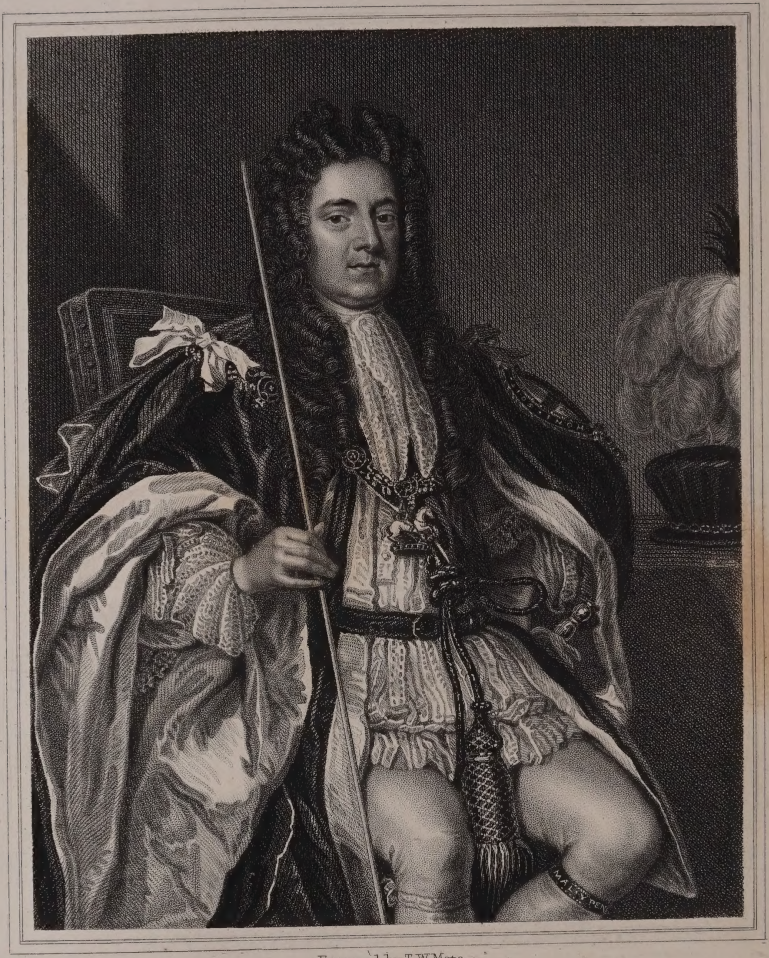
To recur to circumstances more immediately personal and characteristic—on the horrible assassination about this time of Mr. Thynne, who had been one of his most intimate friends, he used his utmost efforts to bring the murderers to condign punishment; and, on the scandalous acquittal of Count Konigsmark, the instigator of the crime, he challenged the Count to a decision of the question of his innocence or guilt by the old chivalrous appeal to single combat, and a noble Peer was the bearer of the message. Konigsmark had avoided his vengeance by a timely flight. The same generous ardour which prompted him to that romantic proposal led him soon after into a very serious private difficulty. He had received an insult within the verge of the Court from a Colonel Colepeper, whom he had brought to submission, and pardoned, on condition that he should never more appear at Whitehall. The Colonel however, after the accession of James, whose disfavour to Cavendish was now notorious, ventured thither again, when that nobleman, who had lately become, by the death of his father, Earl of Devonshire, caned him, and led him out of the Presence chamber by the nose. It is needless to observe here on the severities with which a personal assault in such a place were then legally visited. The Earl was immediately prosecuted, on an information in the King's Bench, and, in a spirit of revenge which reflects infinitely more discredit on the memory of James than most of the charges with which it is usually loaded, was fined thirty thousand pounds, and, in default of instant payment, was immediately committed, in defiance of his privilege, to the prison of that Court. He took however an early opportunity of escaping, but it was only to go to his own seat of Chatsworth, where, says Kennet, "upon the news of his arrival, the sheriff of Derbyshire had a precept to apprehend him, and bring him, with his posse to London; but he invited the sheriff, and kept him a prisoner of honour, till he had compounded for his own liberty, by giving bond to pay the full sum; which bond had this providential discharge—that it was found among the papers of King James, and given up by King William."

He continued at Chatsworth, in as much privacy as his rank could allow, for the rest of that reign, apparently solely employed in forming that superb seat which remains there, a monument not less of his taste and judgment than of the grandeur of his mind, and his utter contempt of the usual applications of great wealth.

The most important occupation however of his retirement was in the concerting with a few other great men of his party the measures which led soon after to the introduction of a new Prince, and a new form of government. Few persons had a larger share in the accomplishment of that remarkable change than himself, and no one acted in it with more consistency and firmness. At length, on the landing of the Prince of Orange, this nobleman was one of the first to make a public declaration of his sentiments and determination, first at Derby, and then at Nottingham, where he received the Princess, afterward Queen, Anne, on her deserting her father, and escorted her, with a military guard, to her husband, Prince George of Denmark, then at Oxford. On the following day he hastened privately to London, and, strenuously joining those Peers who had assembled to move William to take on him the administration of public affairs, was presently after a main instrument in compassing that grand preliminary to the revolution, the vote of the Convention Parliament which declared the government to be abdicated, and the Throne vacant—the rest followed as of course.

This nobleman was now, very deservedly, one of the first objects of the gratitude of the new rulers. On the fourteenth of February, 1689, he was sworn of their Privy council; was immediately after appointed Lord Steward of the Royal Household; and, on the third of April following, received the Order of the Garter. The station of Lord Lieutenant of the county of Derby, of which he had been deprived by Charles the second, was also restored to him; the proceedings against him on the affair of Colepeper were reversed by Parliament, and voted a high breach of privilege; and the judges who had pronounced the sentence of fine and imprisonment were called to the Lords' Bar, and severely questioned and censured. At the commencement of the year 1691 William, on attending the Congress at the Hague, chose him as his chief attendant thither, and he was afterwards present with that Prince at the siege of Mons. On the twelfth of May, 1694, his honours and distinctions were at length completed by his elevation to the dignities of Marquis of Hartington and Duke of Devonshire. Anne on her accession confirmed him in the enjoyment of his offices, and treated him with distinguished grace, but employed him in no affair of state, with the exception of appointing him a Commissioner for the Union with Scotland, the completion of which he barely survived, for he died on the eighteenth of August, 1707, and was buried with his ancestors in the church of All-hallows, in Derby, leaving, by his only lady, Mary, second daughter of James Butler, first Duke of Ormond, two sons; William, his successor; James, who married, and was seated at Staley Park, in Devonshire; and Elizabeth, wife of Sir John Wentworth of Broadsworth, in the county of York. He had also another son, the second born, Henry, who also married, and left issue, but died before his father.

Of his Grace's literary talents and remains little need be said. His known works, with the addition of a very few of his published speeches, are comprised in two poems: the one, an ode on the death of Queen Mary; the other, bearing the singular title of "an Allusion to the Bishop of Cambray's Supplement to Homer." On the former, Dryden went so far as to say that it was the best of the many effusions in verse that the melancholy event had called forth; and the "Allusion," &c. were it better known, would probably be thought to merit praise less qualified. He was however a better critic than poet, and the aristocracy of wits who adorned his time, particularly the Earl of Roscommon, are said to have been in the almost constant habit of submitting their compositions to his taste and judgement.



Engraved by T. W. Mote.

SYDNEY, FIRST EARL OF GODOLPHIN.

OB. 1712.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF KNELLER, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

London, Published Aug^{t} 1, 1836, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

SIDNEY GODOLPHIN,

EARL OF GODOLPHIN.

Burnet calls him "the silentest and modestest man that ever was bred in a Court;" and he says besides, after summing up the faults and excellencies of his character, that, "all things being laid together, he was one of the worthiest and wisest men that has been employed in our time." This encomium, if it stood alone, might be suspected of partiality, but its justice cannot be doubted, when it is recollected that no man's public character was more severely scrutinized after his fall from power than Lord Godolphin's; that the accusations against him were completely refuted; and that even his enemies admitted his uprightness and integrity to be beyond all suspicion.

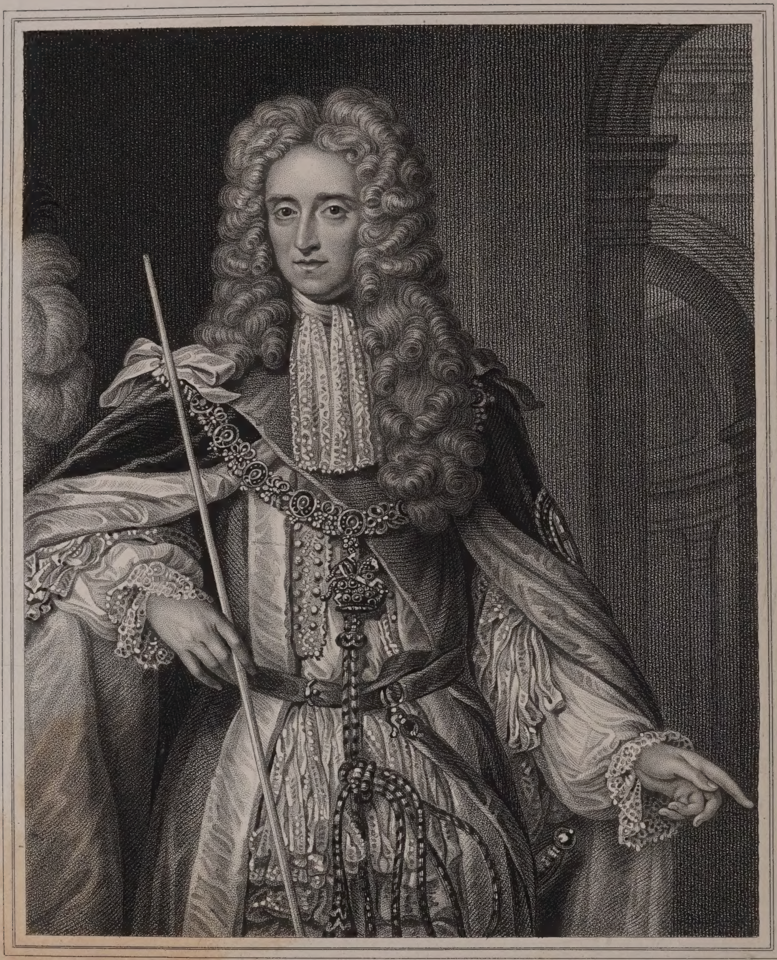
Lord Godolphin was descended from an honourable Cornish family, more remarkable for their loyalty than for the extent of their possessions. He was the third son of Sir Francis Godolphin, and at an early age, impelled by that devotedness to the royal cause which was common to his house, and which some of its older members had evinced in the field, he entered as a page into the service of Charles the Second, when, as Prince of Wales, or rather as Duke of Cornwall, he visited that County. Having shared the ill fortunes of his royal patron, he was, on the restoration to the throne, appointed one of the Grooms of the King's Bedchamber, and by the assiduity and discretion which he displayed in that office, drew from Charles, no common observer of men's characters, the praise that he was never in nor out of the way. In all the vicissitudes which the Stuart family afterwards endured, his respect and affection for them remained undiminished and unchanged; and, although his own destiny and their's combined to cast him into a different sphere of action, he never forgot the House to which his early services had been pledged, and whose favours had placed him in the road to fortune. In the first parliament after the Restoration he represented the borough of Helston, in his native county, and soon took an active part in public business, for which his talents were admirably adapted. In 1678 he was intrusted with a diplomatic mission to Holland, and in the year following, when, on the disgrace of the Earl of Danby, the Treasury was put into commission, he was appointed one of the two commissioners. He discharged the duties of this office creditably to himself, and advantageously to the nation. His manners were so reserved and taciturn that at first he was little liked by the people in office; but the regularity and dispatch which he introduced into the public business of his department, and the incorruptness with which he administered it, soon inspired general confidence, and Burnet says, " he was now considered one of the ablest men that belonged to the Court." He was soon after called to the Privy Council. His desire to avert the evils which were even then foreseen, from the tendency of the Duke of York's conduct, and probably a wish to spare Charles some of the pain which that conduct caused him during the latter part of his life, induced Godolphin to vote for the Bill of Exclusion, and to advise the King to send his brother back to Scotland. In April 1684, on the dismissal of Sir Leoline Jenkins, he was appointed Secretary of State, a post which he relinquished on being raised to that of First Commissioner of the Treasury, in the business of which he had now gained considerable experience. At the same time he was raised to the Upper House of Parliament, by the title of Baron Godolphin of Rialton, in Cornwall. That the part he had taken in the affair of the exclusion had given no lasting offence to James was evident, from that monarch having appointed him, on his accession to the Throne, Chamberlain to the Queen. In this employment he conceived that passionate attachment for his unfortunate mistress which he ever after expressed, and which exposed him to the sneers of Swift. The tone of his gallantry, which was perhaps some centuries too late for the times in which he lived, seems to have been of that chivalrous kind which invested the objects of its devotion with a more than mortal perfection, and gave to the fervour of love all the solemnity of idolatrous worship. This foible was evident in the respectful consideration which he displayed for the Queen's wishes, by transmitting her from England such presents as he thought would please her most, and by keeping up a constant correspondence with her, after she had taken up her abode at St. Germain's. When James had brought about the crisis of his fate, Lord Godolphin was one of the few persons distinguished by his favour, and enriched by his bounty, who adhered to him in his adversity. He was commissioned by the King, with Lords Halifax and Nottingham, to treat with the Prince of Orange on his landing; and, although James's panic flight sealed his own ruin, and frustrated the negociations of his friends, Lord Godolphin is said to have discharged the difficult trust reposed in him with great prudence and discretion. True to the same principles of loyalty to the Stuarts, he opposed the propositions for declaring the throne abdicated by James, and for interrupting the hereditary succession, and voted in favour of a regency.

The decided part he had taken in these measures did not, however, prevent his new master from placing in him the confidence which his character and talents deserved. He was named one of the Privy Council, and again appointed one of the Commissioners of the Treasury. In 1695 he was one of the seven Lords Justices, in whom the administration of public affairs was vested during the King's absence, and in 1696, on the discovery of Sir John Fenwick's projected plot, he resigned his place. Fenwick, as a last effort to preserve his life, made some discoveries in which it was supposed he had denounced Lord Godolphin, and others, as having favoured, if they had not actually engaged in, his scheme. The strong affection which Godolphin was known to entertain, in common with a great many other persons of influence, for the House of Stuart, renders it probable that there was some ground for this accusation. It is notorious that he, as well as the Duke of Marlborough, was, at a later period, engaged in a correspondence with the exiled family; and the proposition for restoring them to the Throne, instead of continuing the regal dignity in the Hanoverian line, seemed once at least to have been favoured by Queen Anne. Either from a consciousness that he had laid himself open to the charge of being disaffected to William, or, as has been thought, at the insidious suggestion of Lord Sunderland, who desired to have him removed, Lord Godolphin at this time threw up his employment.

There had been a close and friendly intimacy of many years between Lord Godolphin and Lord Marlborough, which was strengthened in 1698 by the marriage of Francis, the son of the former, with Lady Henrietta Churchill, who afterwards succeeded to her father's title as Duchess of Marlborough. Lord Godolphin's attachment to the celebrated Duchess, Sarah, for whose talents and character he had a great respect, although the impetuosity of her temper occasionally put his complaisance to severe trials, was another bond of union between them. Marlborough, who knew his ability in the discharge of the high post he had held, and who had the firmest reliance on his friendship, prevailed upon him again to enter the public service in 1700, on the formation of a new ministry; and, on the accession of Queen Anne, made his friend's acceptance of the office of Lord High Treasurer the condition of his assuming the command of the troops abroad. Godolphin would have declined this employment, but the entreaties of Marlborough, who positively refused to engage in operations the success of which must depend on the punctuality of supplies, unless the management of the Treasury were placed in his hands, overcame his scruples. The manner in which Lord Godolphin directed the finances of the country proved the justice of Marlborough's estimate of his character, and reflected the highest praise on himself, while it gained him such entire confidence with the monied interest that the public credit was raised to a high pitch, and he was enabled to supply all the wants of the government with certainty, and upon more advantageous terms than had ever been made before. It was by his suggestion that the Queen was induced to subscribe one hundred thousand pounds out of her civil list towards the expenses of the war, a measure which contributed greatly to her popularity, and encouraged the people to bear their burthens with less discontent: he is said, too, to be entitled to the praise of having induced her to discontinue the pernicious practice of selling places.

In 1706 he was advanced to the dignities of Earl of Godolphin and Viscount Rialton. The part which he took respecting the union with Scotland, exposed him to the animadversions of the party who opposed that measure, but the successes of Marlborough abroad, and his own credit at home, raised their joint influence so high, that their enemies saw that little was to be gained by attacking either. The result of the general election in 1705 increased their power; and the project which Godolphin had formed, in conjunction with Marlborough, for reconciling the party differences of the Whigs and Tories would probably have succeeded, but for the treachery of one in whom they had both implicitly confided. Mr. Harley, afterwards Earl of Oxford, had been brought into office by their influence, and while they were endeavouring to prevail on the Queen, whose tory partialities were at this time very violent, to conciliate the Whigs by the distribution of church patronage among their party, Harley was plotting, by means of private conferences with the Queen, to which he was admitted through the agency of her intriguing favourite, Mrs. Masham, to overthrow their power, and to establish that of the Tories. For a long time both leaders refused to listen to the reports which got abroad on this subject; Marlborough was the first to entertain suspicions, but the earnest and solemn protestations which Harley made of his own innocence, and of respect and attachment to them, induced them to believe that the calumnies against him were the mere inventions of their common enemies. When at length the proofs of his duplicity were forced upon them, and it was impossible to doubt further, Lord Godolphin sent Harley a reproachful message by the Attorney-General; this produced from him a most submissive letter, in which, with matchless effrontery, he still endeavoured to keep up the delusion, and deprecated the resentment of the man he had attempted to betray. To this Lord Godolphin replied by the following laconic note: "I have received your letter, and am very sorry, for what has happened, to lose the good opinion I had so much inclination to have of you. I am very far from having deserved it from you. God forgive you, &c. &c." He refused to appear at the Privy Council while Harley held a seat there; and persisted with so much firmness, notwithstanding the entreaties of the Queen, with whom Harley was a great favourite, that he was at length dismissed. But the determination which Harley had formed to establish the power of the tory party by the demolition of the existing ministry was increased by his recent detection. Mrs. Masham's intrigues were renewed, and the Queen was persuaded that by intrusting the government to the Tories she should increase her popularity, and relieve herself from the anxieties which the continuance of the war and the state of the nation had occasioned. The libellous sermon of Dr. Sacheverel, in which he had attacked the Duke of Marlborough, Lord Sunderland, and Lord Godolphin, particularly the latter, whom he designated under the character of Volpone, was now raised into an undeserved importance by these lords insisting on his impeachment. The consequence, by proving the power of the Tories, was destructive of the ministry; and how far the sentence fell short of what they expected is evident from a passage in one of Lord Godolphin's letters, written just after it was pronounced. "So all this bustle and fatigue ends in no more but a suspension of three years from the pulpit, and burning his sermon at the Old Exchange." This was not the last of the mortifications Lord Godolphin was to experience, and which embittered the latter days of a life that had been spent usefully and honourably in the service of his country. On the thirteenth of April, 1710, the ascendancy of his opponents was placed beyond doubt, by the Queen's appointing the Duke of Shrewsbury to the office of lord chamberlain, while the Duke of Marlborough was abroad, and Lord Godolphin at Newmarket. When this news first reached him, he wrote a firm and somewhat angry remonstrance to the Queen; but was induced to qualify the latter part of his letter, and committed the still more culpable weakness of remaining in office after so gross an affront had been passed upon him. The determination of his enemies to drive him from a post which he could not prevail on himself to resign, at the time when he might have done so with a good grace, became daily more apparent. Although he retained the name of minister, the authority which should accompany it was gone; his suggestions were received with coolness and neglect; insults were unsparingly heaped on him; and some persons known to be most attached to him, were unceremoniously dismissed from their offices. A pretext was only wanting to complete his removal, and this he soon furnished, by firmly opposing in council, and in the Queen's presence, the proposition for dissolving the Parliament, when he expressed his determination to retire before such a resolution could be made public. Soon after this, on the seventh of August, 1710, the Queen wrote to him a most unkind and undeserved note of dismissal, in which she affected to complain of a change that had taken place in his behaviour; and reproached him especially for what he had said in the council, and which made it impossible for her to continue him longer in her service. Her letter concludes thus: "I will give you a pension of four thousand pounds a year; and I desire that instead of bringing the staff to me, you will break it, which, I believe, will be easier to us both."

The treasury was again put into commission, and Mr. Harley appointed the chief commissioner. The reputation of the new ministry was to be raised at the expense of that which had been displaced; the national debt was obviously the most convenient subject for this purpose, and to the lord treasurer was imputed the whole blame of having incurred that debt. The celebrated Henry St. John attacked him with great virulence, and he was ably defended by Mr., afterwards Sir Robert, Walpole. It was found impossible to bring any specific accusation against him; but, after a long inquiry, the House of Commons passed an angry vote to the effect that there appeared a deficiency of thirty-five millions in the public accounts. A motion was made for printing the report, but negatived, because it would have made disclosures which would have exculpated Lord Godolphin, and exposed some of the persons whom the new ministry were inclined to favour. Mr. Walpole afterwards published a pamphlet called "The Thirty-five Millions accounted for," in which he triumphantly exposed the fallacy of the charge that had been made against the lord treasurer. He proved some of the accounts included in it to have belonged to the reigns of Charles the Second, James the Second, and William; and that the real sum for which the late ministry ought to account did not exceed seven millions and a half. Three millions, part of this sum, had been disbursed for extraordinaries during the war, and accounts were brought in for the remainder after the report was made. These explanations produced a re-action in public opinion; the absurdity of the charge was manifest, and that the integrity of the lord treasurer's administration was generally admitted even by his enemies, cannot be more forcibly evinced than by the fact that Swift felt it necessary to qualify his censure of Lord Godolphin by saying, that what he complained of was "possibly by neglect; for I think he cannot be accused of corruption." It was a sense of gratitude for Walpole's effective vindication of his conduct that induced Lord Godolphin to recommend "that young man" to the Duchess of Marlborough with his dying breath. He did not long survive his disgrace, but died, after an excruciating illness, in the house of the Duke of Marlborough, at St. Albans, on the fifteenth of September, 1710; leaving, after having been in the treasury, with few intervals, for more than thirty years, a very moderate fortune. He is said to have been solemn in deportment, and difficult of access; but it is not denied that he was the same to all men: that he was a man of honour; and that if he was slow to promise, he was sure, having promised, to perform. He was much addicted to play, for which he made the ingenious if not satisfactory excuse, that he resorted to it "because it delivered him from the obligation to talk much." By his wife, Margaret, daughter of Colonel Thomas Blague, he had issue one son, Francis, married to Lady Henrietta Churchill, who succeeded to her father's title. The last-mentioned nobleman (after the death of his only son, William, Marquis of Blandford, in 1731, without male issue) was created Baron Godolphin of Helston, in 1735, with remainder to the issue male of his uncle Henry Godolphin, provost of Eton College. He died in January, 1766, and was succeeded by Francis, son of that uncle, who dying without issue, in 1785, the title became extinct.



Engraved by S. Freeman.

THOMAS OSBORNE, FIRST DUKE OF LEEDS.

OB. 1712.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDER VAART, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF LEEDS.

London, Published Octr. 1, 1835, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

THOMAS OSBORNE,

FIRST DUKE OF LEEDS,

WAS the only surviving son of Sir Edward Osborne, Baronet, and Vicepresident of the North under the Earl of Strafford, by his second wife, Anne, daughter of Thomas Walmysley, of Dunkinhalgh, in the county of Lancaster, and widow of William Middleton, of Stockeld, in Yorkshire. The fortunes of his family originated in commerce. Edward Osborne, said to have been of Kentish extraction, was placed, when a youth, in the trade of Sir William Hewet, one of the most eminent and wealthy merchants of London, who had an only daughter; and there is a tradition, probably correct, that when very young, playing in her nurse's arms, in her father's house on London Bridge, she sprang out of a window into the river, and was, with the greatest difficulty and danger, saved by young Osborne, to whom, in gratitude, her father afterwards gave her in marriage, together with the whole of his great possessions. To this Edward the nobleman who will be the subject of this sketch was great grandson.

He was born in 1631, and probably bred in his father's family and neighbourhood in the country, since we do not meet with his name in any of the usual sources of academical intelligence. We are told that he was distinguished, even in very early youth, for a warm devotion to the royal cause, which indeed might be naturally expected, as Sir Edward, on the breaking out of the grand rebellion, was appointed Lieutenant-general of the King's forces in his Vicepresidency, or became so in right of that office. We learn too that the son was afterwards actively and usefully engaged, but we are not informed how, in forwarding the restoration, soon after which he was brought to Court by the Duke of Buckingham, who was about his own age, and whose great possessions in Yorkshire, as well as Sir Edward's official character, had necessarily produced much intercourse, and at length intimacy, with his father. The Duke, who was then in the highest favour, presented and recommended him to the king, by whom he was knighted, and became about the same time a member of the House of Commons. In April, 1667, Charles, whose faithful application of the sums intrusted to him had been somewhat doubted, sought to remove such jealousy by appointing a small number of members of each House of Parliament commissioners for the examination of the public accounts; Sir Thomas Osborne, for he had now succeeded his father, was one of them; and it was his first public employment.

Buckingham, the constancy of whose attachments was almost proverbial, remained steady in his patronage of Osborne, who on his part spared no pains in cultivating his own prospects. He was one of the most determined supporters of the measures of the Court in the House of Commons, and this without any compromise of principle, for, as we are told by Burnet, who was his implacable enemy, " he had been always among the high Cavaliers," and the Bishop adds that " he was a very plausible speaker," nor indeed was it long before he became what has of more modern times been called " manager of the House." These merits, and a peculiar turn, the issue of a sanguine temper, for undervaluing difficulties, recommended him powerfully to the indolent Charles, and he became a personal favourite. His advancement was now almost beyond example rapid. In 1671 he was appointed Treasurer of the Navy; on the third of May, in the succeeding year, sworn of the Privy Council; on the nineteenth of June, 1673, still through Buckingham's earnest recommendation, succeeded Lord Clifford in the great office of High Treasurer; and, on the fifteenth of August following was created Baron Osborne, of Kiveton, in Yorkshire, and viscount Latimer.

This surprising elevation was not however obtained without some just cause of reproach. Osborne purchased it of Buckingham by giving his aid, which constant perseverance, as well as talents, rendered very powerful, in working the downfall of the virtuous Clarendon. To accomplish this end he condescended to practise very unbecoming artifices. Lord Clarendon himself tells us that, on the first rumour of his own favour being on the decline, Sir Thomas Osborne, a dependant and creature of the Duke of Buckingham, "had told many persons in the country, before the Parliament" (of 1667) "met, that the Chancellor would be accused of high treason, and, if he were not hanged, he would be hanged himself:" and also that he had contrived to make the King not only falsify his word, solemnly passed to the Duke of York, in the Chancellor's favour, but even deny that he had ever so pledged it. Nor were the terms on which he accepted the Treasurership very creditable to him, for he obtained it, as we are informed by Sir John Reresby, in his Memoirs, under a private agreement to pay to his predecessor a moiety of the salary. Such bargains however were too common in that reign to be esteemed very disgraceful.

His services proved highly acceptable to the King, who, on the twenty-seventh of June, 1674, advanced him to the title of Earl of Danby. The nature of them remained for some time unknown, but he became unpopular before his principal faults were disclosed. Even in the following year he was attacked in the House of Commons, and charged, as Burnet obscurely expresses it, with "inverting the usual methods of the Exchequer," but his accusers were left in a minority. In the same session he lost many friends by proposing a test of loyalty and fidelity to the Crown and Church, which, after long and warm debates, was voted by the Peers, and, though intended to be taken but voluntarily and unconditionally, gave little less offence to the Catholics than to the disaffected. In the succeeding session he suffered a great mortification by the refusal of the Commons to grant a supply to the Crown for the specific purpose of replacing various sums which the King had taken by anticipation from his ordinary revenue. At length a violent suspicion arose that he had become the chief manager of those secret pecuniary negotiations with the King of France through which it had for some time been strongly suspected that Charles had rendered himself in a great measure independent of his Parliament, and Danby strove to remove that opinion by openly inveighing against the French, which he did so naturally as to provoke a warm discussion with Rouvigny, their minister here, who charged him with injuring the interests of both Princes. The artifice however did not succeed with those for whom he meant it, and the doubts remained unallayed. At length he found that the only means by which he could avoid the utter ruin of his credit, with all its fearful consequences, would be to adopt sincerely the policy which he had of late pretended to hold, and to detach the King from his connection with France; and this he had the address to accomplish, and publish most effectually, by persuading Charles to join the allies, and not only to invite their leader, the Prince of Orange, to London at the end of the campaign of 1677, but to give him the Princess Mary, eldest daughter of the Duke of York, in marriage.

The effect however of these expedients was but transient. Not many months had passed when a disagreement occurred between the Lord Treasurer and Ralph (afterwards Duke of) Montagu, who had been for some years Charles's ambassador at Paris, and was therefore necessarily privy to Danby's transactions with that court, and possessed of many of his most confidential letters. Dreading an accusation from him, Danby easily prevailed on the King, who was even more interested than himself, to denounce Montagu to the House of Commons as guilty of certain traitorous correspondence with the Court of Rome, and, in order to repossess the Treasurer of those letters, to give sudden order for the seizure of his papers, the most important of which Montagu had previously used the precaution to place in other hands. The charge was accordingly made, and largely enquired into, when Montagu produced in his defence, among other documents, two of those letters, in which Danby had distinctly commissioned him to pledge to the King of France Charles's most strenuous endeavours to procure a peace, on condition that Louis should pay to him annually three hundred thousand pounds for three years, adding, with a gratuitous imprudence, that this arrangement would save so long the King from the inconvenience of meeting a Parliament, and a strict caution to conceal the whole from the King's Secretary of State, who was in fact the only proper medium for diplomatic correspondence. After a long and violent debate, not on the fact, of which there could be no doubt, but on the legal character of his offence, Danby was, on the twenty-first of December, 1678, impeached of high treason. The articles of impeachment, which were six, were immediately sent up to the Lords, with a request that he might be committed to custody, which they refused, and entered, with much heat, and variety of opinion, into a long discussion of the nature of his offences, and the proposed method of prosecution; while the King, enraged and mortified by the disclosure of his secret, and the stain which it had cast on his credit, determined to protect Danby, and stopped all proceedings for the present by proroguing, and then dissolving, the Parliament. "On the twentieth of January," (1678 O. S.) says Sir John Reresby, which was ten days before the prorogation, "I spoke both with the King and the Duke, who both declared they would adhere to my Lord Treasurer." The new Parliament met in the following March, and, the Commons shewing an inclination to revive the prosecution, Reresby tells us again that "the King, coming to the House of Lords on the twenty-third of that month, informed both Houses that it was by his particular order the Lord Treasurer had written the two letters produced by Montagu; that it was not the Lord Treasurer who had concealed the plot, but that it was himself who told it his lordship from time to time, as he thought fit. His Majesty then declared he had granted the said nobleman a full pardon; and that, if occasion required, he would give it him again ten times over: that however he intended to lay him aside from his employments, and to forbid him the Court." The House of Commons now attacked him with renewed fury, denying the validity of the King's pardon; while the Lords, as a middle course, proposed to vote his committal; to connive at his escape; and then to pass an act for his banishment. All this was done accordingly, but the Commons, as soon as he had disappeared, proceeded to a bill of attainder, and, on the seventeenth of April, 1679, he surrendered himself, and was committed to the Tower. Great confusion now arose. Danby demanded an immediate trial, and determined to plead the King's pardon; the Commons insisted that the Bishops had no jurisdiction on charges of treason, and must not be admitted to vote; angry conferences were held between the two Houses; and at length Charles cut short these, and some other proceedings which were just at that time very irksome to him, by another prorogation and dissolution of Parliament.

Danby however was suffered to continue a prisoner, forgotten, as is seemed, by the King, and disliked by the Duke, both of whom were now occupied in avoiding the peril of new plots, and in practising new plans of policy, nor was he even mentioned in either of the two Parliaments which sat during his restraint. He remained in the tower for five years, making frequent applications in vain to be admitted to bail. Sir John Reresby tells us that he often visited him there, and was surprised at the philosophic patience and equanimity which he manifested during this persecution, for such it certainly was, let his demerits have been what they might. At length he prevailed on the Judges to hear his case argued, and, on the twelfth of February, 1684, N. S. they severally delivered their opinions, and concurred unanimously that he ought to be bailed, when he was bound in twenty thousand pounds to appear in the House of Peers in the succeeding session, and the Dukes of Somerset and Albemarle, and the Earls of Oxford and Chesterfield, became his sureties in five thousand each.

"He came the same day," says Reresby, "to kiss his Majesty's hand in the bedchamber, when I happened to be present. The King received him very kindly, and when the Earl complained of his long imprisonment, his Majesty told him he knew it was against his consent, which his lordship thankfully acknowledged, but they had no manner of private discourse together."

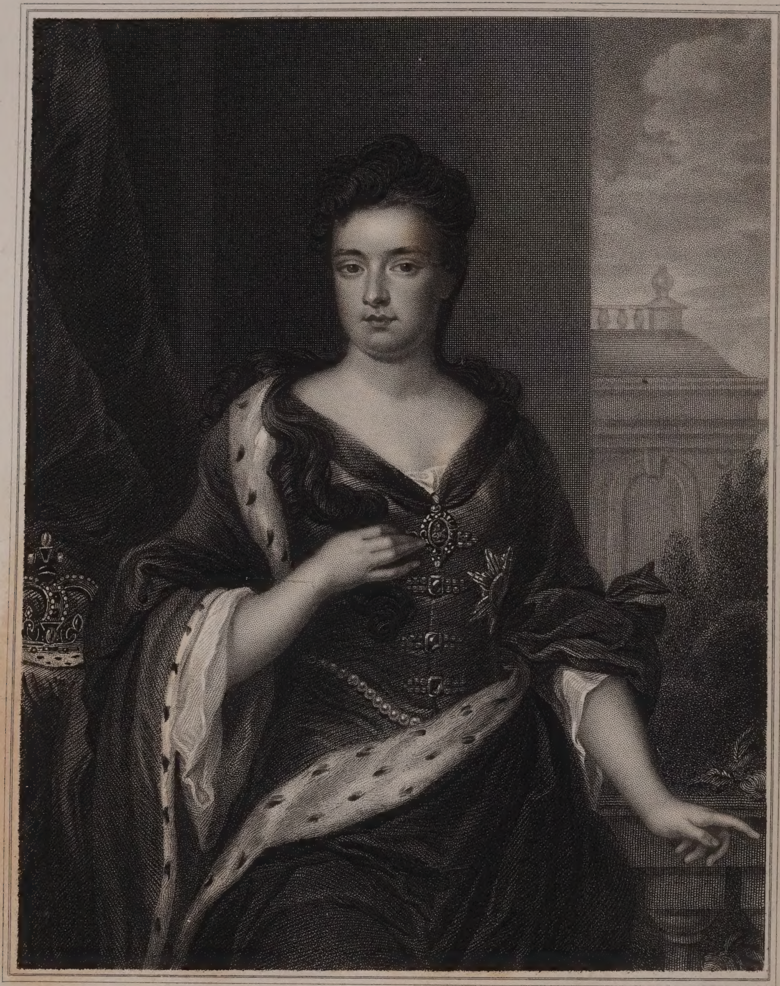
Charles survived this interview not many months, and in the following short and unhappy reign Danby's name is scarcely mentioned till its conclusion was at hand, when we find him a party in those secret consultations of eminent persons which were held at the Earl of Shrewsbury's, in which the plan for the great change which was at hand was conceived and matured. He entered into it with resolution and sincerity; framed the Prince of Orange's declaration; and, as soon as William had determined on the invasion of England, took measures for raising troops in Yorkshire, where his influence lay, to aid that enterprise, should it be necessary. The Prince came, and was successful, but the Princess remained in Holland during the discussions of different schemes for vacating and then filling the throne, in which some persons were found bold and profligate enough to propose that he should be placed on it independently, to the exclusion of the daughters of King James. Danby, stung perhaps with remorse for the part he had already taken, sent privately to the Princess, "and gave her," says Burnet, "an account of the present state of the debate, and desired to know her own sense of the matter; for, if she desired it, he did not doubt that he should be able to carry it for setting her alone on the Throne; but she made him a very sharp answer; and, not content with this, she sent both Lord Danby's letter, and her answer, to the Prince. William bore this," adds Burnet, "with his usual phlegm, for he did not expostulate with the Earl of Danby on it, but continued still to employ and to trust him." That nobleman indeed was one of a very few whom he desired specially to attend him a few days after, to hear from himself the terms on which he would accept the Crown, together with the incredible declaration of his indifference as to the possession of it upon any.

Danby indeed received immediately further and greater proofs of favour. He was appointed to the distinguished station of President of the Council, and, on the twentieth of April, 1689, advanced to the dignity of Marquis of Caermarthen. He now, in spite of painful experience, plunged again into the mazes of party and intrigue; became envious of the favour enjoyed by the Marquis of Halifax, whose disgrace he sought and accomplished; and presently after was attacked in his turn by weapons the edge of which it was supposed had been blunted by time—the old subjects of the impeachment and pardon were revived in the House of Peers, but the design of his enemies was warded off for the time by the sudden discovery of a plot to restore King James, and the capture of Lord Preston, one of the leaders in it, who had embarked on his way to communicate personally with that Prince, of both which services Lord Caermarthen happened to have been the main instrument. On the fourth of May, 1694, he was created Duke of Leeds; but in the following year he became the object of a very serious charge—the having accepted a sum of five thousand guineas from the East India company, as a price for his influence in procuring for them a new charter. In the examination of this matter by the House of Commons it was proved that such a sum had been put into the hands of a third person, with instructions to pay it for that purpose to Caermarthen, who, according to the evidence of that person, refused to accept it, but advised him to keep it for himself. Other mysterious and doubtful circumstances distinguished this inquiry, which ended in an impeachment for a misdemeanor, and a demand on the part of the Duke to be heard in justification of himself at the Commons' bar, where he denied the accusation, and required a speedy trial; but the session soon after ended, and with it the prosecution, for it was never after renewed. In 1701, the Lords dismissed the impeachment.

Here nearly ended the political life of this nobleman, for he had resigned the office of Lord President at the time he was elevated to the Dukedom. It is true that he was called to the Privy Council by Queen Anne, but he held no other public situation. His affection however to party politics remained with him even to the close of life, for he engaged with ardour in the discussions on the affair of Dr. Sacheverell, and is recorded to have spoken on that occasion with little respect of the revolution for which he had so signally striven. He published in 1710 a volume of "Memoirs relating to the impeachment of Thomas, Earl of Danby, now Duke of Leeds, in the year 1678;" and another, of his correspondence, in several letters, with some statesmen, on matters connected with the same subject. On the twenty-sixth of July, 1712, he died, at Easton in Northamptonshire, the seat of his grandson, the Earl of Pomfret, when on a journey to his own mansion in Yorkshire; leaving a public character which cannot, however briefly, be more justly summed up than in the words of the late Lord Orford, who says "if the Earl of Danby was far inferior in integrity to Clarendon and Southampton, he was as much superior to Shaftesbury and Lauderdale."

The first Duke of Leeds, married Bridget, second daughter of Montagu Bertie, second Earl of Lindsey, by whom he had issue three sons, Edward, Thomas, and Peregrine, by whom, the two elder dying before him, he was succeeded in his titles and great estates; and six daughters; Elizabeth, who died unmarried; Anne, wife, first to Robert Coke, of Holkham, in Norfolk, ancestor to the late Earl of Leicester, of that surname, and eventually to Horatio Walpole, uncle to the first Earl of Orford, but had no issue by either; Bridget, married, first to Charles Fitzcharles Earl of Plymouth, one of the natural sons of King Charles the Second; secondly to Philip Bisse, Bishop of Hereford; Catharine, to James Herbert, of Kingsey, in Bucks, son and heir of James, a younger son of Philip Herbert, first Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery; Martha, first, to Edward Bayntun, secondly to Charles

Granville, second Earl of Bath of his family; and Sophia, first to Donatus, a grandson and heir to Henry O'Brien, Earl of Thomond, and, after, to William Fermor, Lord Lempster, father to the first Earl of Pomfret.



Engraved by J. Cochran.

QUEEN ANNE.

OB. 1714.

FROM THE ORIGINAL BY KNELLER, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE R^{T}. HON^{BLE}. THE EARL OF EGREMONT.

London, Published June 1.1835, by Harding & Lepard Pall Mall East.

QUEEN ANNE.

This Princess, the last of the Stuart dynasty who occupied the Throne of these realms, was the daughter of James the Second, when Duke of York, by Anne Hyde, his first lady, whose father was the eminent and virtuous Chancellor Clarendon, the historian of the momentous times in which he lived. She was born at Twickenham on the sixth of February, 1665, and as her father had not at that period abjured the Protestant religion, a step which led to all the woes and disasters which clouded and embittered his after life, she was educated in the doctrines of the reformed Church. In 1683 she was married to Prince George, the presumptive heir to the Crown of Denmark, a personage as it seems of such insignificance, that little is to be inferred of his character but from the silent neglect which it has historically experienced. On the arrival of the Prince of Orange, if James's daughter had been permitted to follow the inclination she manifested, she would have adhered to the falling fortunes of her father. Her husband continued about the King's person, and distinguished himself in those hours of anxiety and peril, when the news of one misfortune crowded so fast upon the heels of another that the Monarch had scarcely time to consider his actual position, by only exclaiming with a listless vacuity, " Est-il possible?" a phrase so frequently used by him that it had gained him a nick-name, and when, at a convenient time he was found to have joined the multitude who had fled the Court, the intelligence of his disaffection extorted from the King no further expression of surprise than " Est-il possible gone too!" When James learnt, as he did soon afterwards, that his daughter had been persuaded or forced by Lady Churchill, who had even then acquired a powerful ascendancy over her, and by Compton, Bishop of London, to repair to Northampton, the deserted father felt that the measure of his afflictions was filled up, since his children had combined with his enemies to effect his destruction.

The stern monarch who succeeded to James's abdicated sceptre, showed little favour to the Princess or her adherents ; and by the coldness with which he regarded her and Lord Churchill, afterwards the great Duke of Marlborough, seemed to consider that the child who had abandoned her parent in his adversity, and the soldier who had betrayed his sovereign when fortune frowned upon him, were equally objects of suspicion. Towards the close of William's life, when the infirmities of age were stealing upon him, and the thought that no son of his could succeed to the power he wielded, had begun to influence his mind, the King treated them with more consideration, and restored them, if not to his confidence, at least to his favour.

When the throne became again vacant in 1702, Anne, before she ascended it, requested her father's approbation of that step, holding out, as it is said, the prospect that her temporary accession would pave the way to her family's resuming their hereditary station. The indignant reply of the monarch precluded all hope of his acquiescence. He said that, although it might be his fate to suffer from injustice, he would never authorise it by any act of his; and Anne is suspected to have taken upon herself the regal dignity with the determination of atoning for her filial disobedience by relinquishing, when a favourable opportunity should occur, the power which she cannot be said to have willingly usurped. Her public conduct and the legislative measures of her reign were not, it is true, consistent with that determination ; but the bias of her secret inclinations was perfectly well known, and while it encouraged the hopes of the adherents of the Stuart family, excited the strongest jealousy and awakened the utmost vigilance of the party opposed to their restoration. The latter had the skill or the good fortune to turn every attempt which was made by their opponents into the means of defeating the object of their enterprises; and it was the painful destiny of the Queen to be forced to sanction and confirm those laws which annihilated the expectations of her family and crushed her own most favoured desires. The conflict between natural affection and public duty to which she was thus exposed was a source of constant disquiet and mortification, and rendered her private life as full of sorrow and suffering, as the public events of her reign were brilliant and honourable to the national reputation.

In March, 1702, when the reign of Anne commenced, England was divided into three principal parties: the Jacobites, whose hopes of the restoration of the Stuart family were yet strong, the Tories, and the Whigs. The Queen's accession was looked upon by each of these with satisfaction. The two former believed that the principles to which they adhered would receive countenance from the Queen; the latter trusted that their power was too well established by the events of William's reign to suffer from the attempts of their opponents. The indolence and facility of temper which characterised the new Queen laid her open to the influence of the stronger minded Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, and the party with which she was connected, and to this influence has been ascribed the readiness with which Anne adhered to the principles of foreign policy which had actuated the conduct of the late Sovereign. The triple alliance between England, Holland and Germany, the object of which was to check the ambitious designs of Louis XIV., was confirmed, and in May, 1702, the declaration of hostilities by those powers against France was published. Then commenced that long contest known by the name of the war of the succession, which had for its object to prevent the union of the Crowns of Spain and France, and which the genius of Marlborough and Eugene rendered so brilliant and honourable to the armies they directed. The battles of Hochstet Ramillies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet, eclipsed the glories of Crecy and Agincourt, and carried the renown of the British arms to a pitch of glory which has never been surpassed.

QUEEN ANNE.

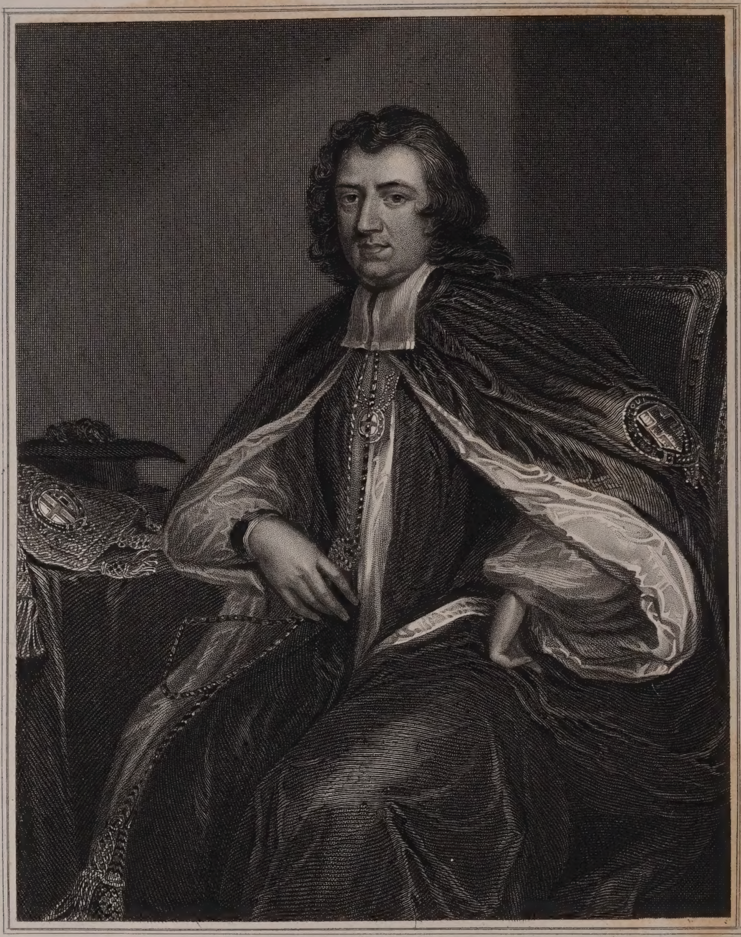
In the year 1707, the union with Scotland, a measure which all enlightened politicians had long advocated and which preceding monarchs had in vain attempted to effect was happily accomplished. The prosperity and tranquillity of both branches of the nation was secured, and the succession, contrary to the expectations, as well as the wishes, of the Queen, settled in the house of Hanover. On the death of her husband, Anne's predilection in favour of her family began to be more openly manifested. The power which the Duchess of Marlborough had acquired over her too easy mistress, and which she had used with imprudent audacity, was undermined by the intrigues of the Tory party. A more obsequious favourite, in the person of Mrs. Masham, supplanted the imperious Duchess, and Godolphin, Sunderland, Somers and Walpole, Her Majesty's Whig Ministers, gave way to the Tory leaders Harley and Bolingbroke with their nine illustrious but less eminent colleagues. Parliament was dissolved, and in the general election which ensued, the combined influence of the High Church party, which Dr. Sacheverel's trial had roused, and of the Jacobites, returned a large proportion of Tories to the House of commons. The creation at once of twelve new members of the House of Lords ensured in that assembly a predominance of power in favour of the new Government, and thus strengthened, a peace was determined on, and carried into effect. The negotiations for the treaty of Utrecht were prosecuted, and the terms arranged by Bolingbroke and Prior; but, as her resolute entrance on the war at the commencement of her reign had been induced by the authoritative councils of the Duchess of Marlborough, the peace by which that war was terminated, and Europe for a time tranquillized, may be no less properly ascribed to the gentler insinuations of Mrs. Masham.

The disgrace of Marlborough, and the sacrifice of Anne's earlier friends, had not the effect of procuring for the Queen that support which she had calculated upon from her new adherents. Her supposed partiality for her family rendered her an object of suspicion to a great portion of her people, and, although she gave no more open demonstration of that partiality than might be fairly referred to the constitutional moderation of her temper, and that disinclination to proceed to extremities against those with whom nature and affection had linked her, which was not only excusable but laudable, her existence was embittered by the jealousies to which she was exposed. The latter part of her life was disquieted, and, as it should appear, her death accelerated by the disunion which had sprung up between Harley, now Earl of Oxford, and Bolingbroke, who, from being close allies, had become irreconcileable foes. The ambitious and intractable spirit of Bolingbroke alarmed the more timid and dissembling Lord Treasurer, who complained to the Queen, and denounced his rival as a dangerous person. The Secretary had, however, gained an advantage which enabled him to triumph over his former friend. That same Mrs Masham, by whose assistance Harley had in other times supplanted his opponents, had been, or thought she had been neglected and ill used by him. Bolingbroke courted her friendship with the utmost assiduity, and excited her animosity against Lord Oxford, whom she did not scruple to call "the most ungrateful man to the Queen, and all his best friends, that ever was born." The result of this intrigue soon became apparent. Bolingbroke, aware of his strength, openly reproached Lord Oxford; accused him of betraying the Queen's honour; of intriguing with her apparent successor, of endeavouring to restrict her just prerogative, and to thwart those who were best inclined to serve her. The council board became a scene of violent contention, in which the exasperated feelings of the rival ministers led them beyond the bounds of common decency. Scurrilous reproaches, and bitter recriminations, which even the presence of her Majesty could not repress, occupied the time which ought to have been spent in grave debate. They produced, but did not end with, Lord Oxford's dismissal; for on the question of putting the office of Lord Treasurer, from which he had been displaced, into commission, a discussion ensued among the Privy Councillors, at which her Majesty assisted, and which was carried on with great heat until two o'clock in the morning. The fatigue and mental anxiety to which she was thus exposed threw her into great agitation, which was immediately followed by a serious illness. She ascribed the attack from which she was suffering to this cause, and told the physicians attending her, that she should not outlive it. This was on the twenty-eighth of July, 1714. Two days afterwards she was seized with a lethargy from which she never recovered, but remained in a state of insensibility until the morning of the first of August, when she expired, in the fiftieth year of her age, and in the thirteenth of her reign.

The times in which she lived were so fertile in the production of great men, and important events, that a brilliant lustre was shed over them to which however the Queen personally contributed little. Before her time, at distant intervals, Shakspeare, and Milton, and Dryden had diffused the glorious lights emanating from the genius which inspired them over the literature of England, but all around and between them was in comparative obscurity. In her reign Pope, Swift, Addison, Prior, Congreve, Steele, Gay, and a crowd of other highly gifted men poured out in abundant profusion, and at nearly the same period, the treasures of their intellect, and established for the nation a fame so great and lasting, that posterity is justified in calling this the Augustan age of English literature. The other acts of peace proceeded with equal success; commerce, manufactures, and agriculture, felt the same favouring influence, and, joined to the brilliant triumphs which had attended the British arms abroad, raised the glory of the country to a high pitch of prosperity and renown.

The fitness of Anne for exercising the royal sway is admitted on all hands to have been much more than questionable. Constitutionally mild, timid and indolent, she was influenced by the insolence or the cunning of those who surrounded her, and, until disappointment and treachery had rendered her cautious, was the unsuspecting instrument of their projects. When caution came at length, it brought with it an unreasonable degree of suspicion, and she acquired the conviction that she was exposed to impositions without having the prudence and sagacity which were necessary to distinguish between the true and the false. In private she was a model of conjugal affection and fidelity. Neither the cares nor the occupations of public business induced her to omit the most assiduous attention to her husband in the long and painful illness which ended in his death ; and in her affection and regard for her children, of whom she had nine, all of whom she had the misfortune to survive, she set an example worthy of imitation by all, and most honourable to her exalted station. Glorious and prosperous as her reign was to the nation, her life was filled with pain and sorrow. The early deaths of her children, and the lamentable circumstances of her exiled family, poisoned her existence, and presented a striking proof of the wide distinction between personal happiness and external grandeur. Forced by circumstances into the occupation of the throne, and bound by the dictates of conscience to the support of the Protestant religion, she was reduced to the sad alternative of disregarding the emotions of filial tenderness, or of violating obligations not less solemn or imperative than those of natural duty and affection, and perhaps of plunging a nation into anarchy and ruin. That she attempted to reconcile these conflicting duties, and that the attempt was in vain, formed the heavy cloud which hung over her whole life, and has exposed her memory to the reproaches of a party which upon a fair consideration of the circumstances of her position she can in no respect be said to have deserved.

Her administration of the executive power was remarkably lenient; and it is a fact worthy of remembrance that, notwithstanding the troubles and violence in which the state of politics involved her reign, no execution for high treason occurred in its whole duration. She was punctual and exemplary in the discharge of her religious duties; maintained and encouraged the purity of the clerical profession; and with laudable generosity set the first example, and at her own expense, of augmenting the livings of the poorer members of the Church of England, to whom at this day "Queen Anne's Bounty" is a phrase of consolation and encouragement. Her income was managed with strict œconomy, and so as to have sufficient funds at her disposal for indulging that liberal benevolence in which she delighted. She possessed a good natural capacity, and very respectable accomplishments; was skilled in painting and music, and had good taste in all the fine arts. The delivery of her public speeches was characterised by a dignified propriety, and so aided by a remarkably pleasing voice, that they are said to have charmed the ears of her audience. Her person was of the middle size and well proportioned; her hair of a dark brown colour; her complexion ruddy, her features regular, her countenance rather round than oval, and her general aspect might more properly be called comely than majestic. A generous and indulgent mistress, and a warm friend, she had inspired all who surrounded her with feelings of sincere affection, while the paternal regard she had on all occasions manifested for the welfare of her people had made her so universally beloved that her death was more sincerely lamented than that of perhaps any Monarch who ever sate on the throne of these realms. Without any of those qualifications which constitute what is called a great Sovereign, she was one of the best and purest, and was unquestionably entitled to the expressive epithet of "the Good Queen Anne" by which she was long remembered.



Engraved by H. Robinson.

GILBERT BURNET, BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

OB. 1714-15.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF KNELLER, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^{BLE} THE EARL OF HARDWICKE.

London, Published March 1, 1833, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

GILBERT BURNET,

BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

This eminent person, with whose character and conduct we should have been perhaps better acquainted had he spoken less of them himself, was born in Edinburgh, on the eighteenth of September, 1643. One of his sons, who subjoined to the most important of his works a slight sketch of his life, which has furnished the ground for all succeeding compilers, has neglected to inform us even of the christian names of his parents, telling us only that his father was an eminent civil lawyer, of an ancient family in the county of Aberdeen, and his mother a sister of that furious covenanter, Archibald Johnstone, better known by the title of Lord Warristoun, who had sat as a Peer in Cromwell's Scottish Parliament, and suffered death for treason in 1663. From that uncle, and from his mother, who was also a stedfast zealot for the same cause, Gilbert imbibed a presbyterian inclination which certainly ever after tinged all his notions of government, both in church and state, while his father, from whom he received his early education, and who had turned with disgust from the frantic violence of the schismatics, and embraced episcopacy, determined to place him at least in the profession of the established church, instead of the law, to which he had been originally destined. He had however studied for some years in the college of Aberdeen before this resolution was taken, where, at the age of eighteen, he passed his examination as a probationer, or candidate for holy orders, and, soon after, having refused a benefice which might probably have placed him in obscurity for life, came to England, and visited Oxford and Cambridge, in which the extent of his precocious talents and erudition presently gained for him not only the intimacy but the esteem of the most eminent persons there. Having spent six months in those classical abodes, he embarked for Holland, and, after an inquisitive tour through the United Provinces, and part of France, where he spent some time in Paris, he came first to London in the beginning of the year 1665. Here, chiefly through the special recommendations which he had brought from the two universities, he became known to the persons at that time most remarkable in every branch of literature; enlarged and varied the scope of his studies; and was elected a member of the Royal Society, then a most choice fraternity, under the presidency of his countryman, Sir Robert Murray.

Thus introduced to the world, and fortified by reputation and connections, he returned to Scotland, and accepted from Sir Robert Fletcher the living of Saltoun, of which he had no sooner taken possession than he drew up, to use his own words, a memorial of the grievances Scotland lay under by the misconduct of its Bishops, charging them with utter neglect of their pastoral duties, with avarice, tyranny, and licentious lives. He sent transcripts of this singular piece, signed with his name, to most of those prelates, and was soon after cited before the whole body, with Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrew at their head. Sharp proposed that he should be deprived and excommunicated, to which the rest, conscious of the tottering state of the Scottish hierarchy, refused their assent; and Burnet, who stedfastly refused to make any apology, was at length dismissed without penalty. This extraordinary boldness, and in a youth of the age of two-and-twenty, procured him much fame and notoriety, especially with the great presbyterian body, to which the King's ministers in Scotland were at that time known to lean, and certainly paved the way to his future advancement. They began to consult him privately on the affairs of the church, and his advice, as might be expected, generally agreed with their opinions. He had the good fortune, or the address, to gain at once the favour of the Earl, soon after Duke, of Lauderdale, who had the chief management of Scottish affairs, and the Duke of Hamilton, of whose natural power in that country it is needless to speak, though those noblemen had been long at variance. Nay, such were the kindness and confidence in which they mutually held him, that he effected, as he tells us, a reconciliation between them. Lauderdale is said to have advised with him at that time on public affairs the most important and delicate, while Hamilton entrusted to him the most private papers of his family, and employed him to compose those memoirs of the Dukes of that House, which were afterwards published under his name. "I wrote those memoirs," says he, in his History of his own Times, "with great sincerity," yet he blindly adds, even in the same breath for the sake of sullying the memory of Charles the first with indefinite censures, "I did indeed conceal several things that related to the King: I left out some passages that were in his letters, in some of which there was too much weakness, and in others too much craft and anger." While he was occupied in that work, he composed also, with the view of reconciling his vacillation between the two churches, his "Modest and free Conference between a Conformist and a Nonconformist," an apology which left his conduct and his motives nearly where it found them.

In 1669 he was chosen professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow, an office which he held for more than four years, and the only one in which we at any time find him in his own country. During that period he twice, as he tells us, refused the offer of a Bishoprick there. His activity and his ambition prompted him to fly at higher game than Scotland could produce, and he secretly longed to figure in courts and states. He made a journey therefore to London, under the pretence, for a mere pretence it must have been, of seeking information from the Duke of Lauderdale wherewith to enrich his Memoirs of the Hamiltons, and the Duke, who on his part stood mainly in need of an able adviser and apologist, received him cordially, in the hope of retaining him in at least one of those characters. He returned however to Glasgow in 1671, but it was to take a wife, Margaret Kennedy, daughter of the Earl of Cassilis, who was many years older, as well as much richer, than himself. This marriage, which seemed to connect him still more firmly with the Presbyterian interest, as the lady and her family were among its chief supporters, probably suggested to him the prudence of making some new professions to counterbalance the obloquy to which it might give occasion, and he published an argument in defence of royalty and episcopacy, with the title of "A Vindication of the Authority, Constitution, and Laws, of the Church and state of Scotland," which he dedicated to Lauderdale, a person utterly careless of both.

He went again to London in 1673, giving out that the sole object of his journey was to procure a license, for the publication of his biographical work, which might certainly have been as easily obtained without his personal attendance. His real design however was to make a vigorous effort for preferment and distinction. Lauderdale now presented him and his book to the king, who, as he tells us in his "History of his own Times," immediately read some parts of it himself, and expressed his approbation of it. If this relation be somewhat marvellous, as it certainly is, his account, in the next paragraph, of his second audience is absolutely incredible. Take it therefore in his own words.—"He admitted me to a long private audience that lasted above an hour, in which I took all the freedom with him that I thought became my profession. He run me into a long discourse about the authority of the church, which he thought we made much of in our disputes with the dissenters, and then took it all away when we dealt with the papists. I saw plainly what he aimed at in this; and I quickly convinced him that there was a great difference between an authority of government in things indifferent, and a pretence to infallibility,—He complained heavily of the Bishops for neglecting the true concerns of the church, and following Courts so much, and being so engaged in parties. I went through some other things, in relation to his course of life, and entered into many particulars with much freedom. He bore it all very well, and thanked me for it. Some things he freely condemned, such as living with another man's wife; other things he excused, and thought God would not damn a man for a little irregular pleasure. He seemed to take all I had said very kindly, and, during my stay at court, he used me in so particular a manner, that I was considered as a man growing into a high degree of favour."

He was presently after introduced by the Earl of Ancram to the Duke of York, "Lord Ancram," says he, "had a mind to engage me to give his Royal Highness an account of the affairs of Scotland; but I avoided that, and very bluntly entered into much discourse with him about matters of religion. He said some of the common things of necessity of having but one church, otherwise we saw what swarms of sects did rise upon our revolt from Rome, and these had raised many rebellions, and the shedding of much blood; and he named both his father's death, and his great grandmother's, Mary Queen of Scots. He also turned to some passages in Heylin's History of the Reformation, which he had lying by him, and the passages were marked, to show upon what motives and principles men were led into the changes that were then made. I enlarged upon all these particulars, and shewed him the progress that ignorance and superstition had made in many dark ages, and how much bloodshed was occasioned by the Papal pretensions, for all which the opinion of infallibility was a source never to be exhausted. I told him that it was a thing he could never answer to God nor the world; that being born, and baptized in our church, and having his father's last orders to continue stedfast in it, he had suffered himself to be seduced, and, as it were, stolen out of it, hearing only one side, without offering his scruples to our divines, or hearing what they had to say in answer to them; and that he was now so fixed in his Popery, that he would not so much as examine the matter. The Duke, upon this conversation," he adds, "expressed such a liking to me, that he ordered me to come oft to him."

That Charles was one of the best tempered and most courteous, and James one of the most phlegmatic and patient, princes in the world, are facts historically proved; nor has Burnet given us any where reason to suppose that he ever suffered himself to be put out of his way by scruples of modesty or politeness; but can it, I say, be believed that a young clergyman, with nothing to plead in his favour but the reputation of talents and erudition, together perhaps with some slight party services in Scotland, should have thus personally bearded and bullied his sovereign, and the presumptive heir to the Throne, and in the very hour of his first admission to their presence? No, it is utterly impossible; and it is the extravagance, to use a mild term, of these, and many other passages in his History of his own Times, that has rendered his fidelity generally and deservedly questionable.

During his visit, however, to London, the King heard him preach, and appointed him one of his chaplains in ordinary, but he soon lost that distinction; for he had scarcely returned to Scotland when his patron, Lauderdale, fell into a temporary disgrace, in which he became involved, through the treachery, as he says, of the Duke himself, who had falsely laid to his charge the miscarriage of some affairs in Scotland. Rendered unpopular there by that imputation, which threatened also his best prospects in England, he resigned his professorship at Glasgow, and made another journey hither in 1674, to endeavour to remove the effect of it; but he was presently after his arrival struck out of the List of chaplains, and forbade to appear at Court. Early in the succeeding year an enquiry into the conduct of the Duke of Lauderdale was instituted by the House of Commons, and Burnet, after a little hesitation, declared at length to a Committee, the whole of his most secret communications with that nobleman, for which, according to the common fate of those who make such disclosures, he was overwhelmed with the praises of one faction, and the execrations of another. He now resolved to pass the remainder of his life in England, and to confine his views to his profession, and his hopes of patronage in it, to the puritan party to which he was now more than ever grateful. He was accordingly recommended by the Lord Holles, better known as one of the notorious five members of the Long Parliament, to the Master of the Rolls, Sir Harbottle Grimstone, a worthy man, but a votary not less strenuous to the good old cause, for the office of Preacher at his Public Chapel, and was soon after chosen lecturer of St. Clement's.

Why he delayed so long the publication of his Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton is unknown, but they did not appear till 1676. He printed, soon after, " An Account of a Conference between Dr. Stillingfleet, Mr. Coleman, afterwards sacrificed to the Popish Plot, and himself," which was held at the request of a Lady Tyrwhit, whose mind was painfully wavering between the Catholic and Protestant churches, and which ended with the usual effect of such disputations. But he began now to be busied in collecting the materials, and forming the plan of that work, from which he chiefly, and deservedly too, derived his literary fame, the History of the Reformation ; for the publication of which, or rather of the first volume, which did not appear till 1679, the thanks of both Houses of Parliament were voted to him, together with their request that he would continue and compleat the task. This distinction which no author had ever before experienced, would have been more estimable if party spirit had been wholly absent from the motives which produced it ; but the truth is, that the book appeared during the utmost heat of the pretended Popish plot, at an hour when no compliment was thought too high to be bestowed on the champion of the low church, as Burnet about that time began to be considered. The occurrence of that monstrous scene of perjury and bloodshed drew him from a retirement which he had adopted for the purposes of study, and he seems, from his own account, to have been very busy among several of the actors in it, probably with the view of gaining intelligence which might make him again acceptable at Court, where indeed we presently after find him, in the same boasted familiar intercourse with the King as formerly.

In 1681 he published an interesting account of the life and death of the libertine Earl of Rochester, whom he had sedulously attended in his last illness, and about the same time addressed a letter at great length to the King, arraigning the whole of his public and private conduct, with a severity of judgement, and coarseness of expression, which again lead us to painful doubts of his veracity—to doubt whether such a letter was ever written—yet more whether it was ever delivered.—Let the reader judge from a few extracts, which are not selected for their sharpness so much as for their brevity. "Most people grow sullen, and are highly dissatisfied with you, and distrustful of you: all the distrust your people have of you; all the necessities you are now under; all the indignation of heaven that is upon you, and appears in the defeating all your counsels; flow from this—that you have not feared nor served God, but have given yourself up to so many sinful pleasures.—If you will go on in your sins, the judgements of God will probably pursue you in this life, so that you may be a proverb to after-ages; and, after this life, you will be for ever miserable, and I, your poor subject that now am, shall be a witness against you in the great day, that I gave you this free and faithful warning." The letter is dated on the twenty-ninth of January, and concludes with declaring that the writer chose that day in hope that on the morrow (the anniversary of his father's murther) the King might be in a disposition to weigh it the more carefully. Burnet alludes to this letter in his History of his own Times, and his son, by whom that work was published, with a brief sketch, as we before observed, of his father's life subjoined, gives there a copy at length, which he says he found among the bishop's papers after his death.

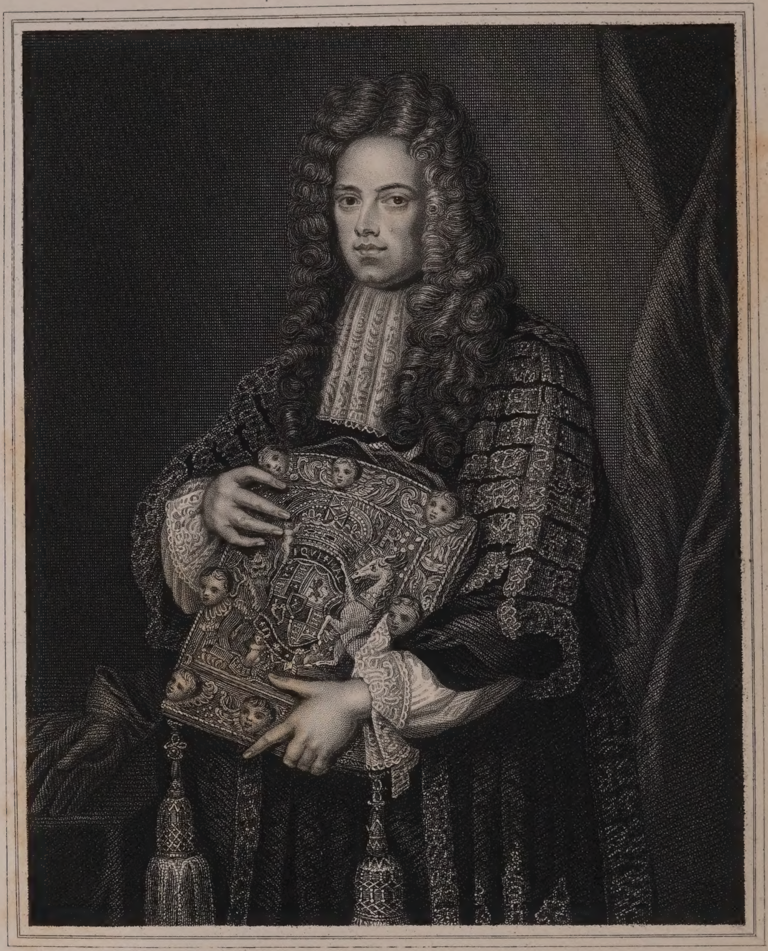
He printed also in 1681, a Life of Sir Matthew Hale, and a treatise which he entitled "a History of the Rights of Princes in disposing of ecclesiastical Benefices, and Church Lands," as well as a defence of that work, in answer to an anonymous attack. The return of the Duke of York from Scotland, and the triumph of that Prince's party over the presbyterian faction in the following year, seem materially to have confused Burnet's political speculations. He had long declined to accept offers of important promotion from each, with the view of preserving that reputation for impartiality and independence at which he had always aimed, and he now suddenly found himself compelled to expose openly his affection for the one, to the extinction for ever of all hope of favour, or even forgiveness, from the other. The treason which took the name of the Rye-house Plot was discovered, and it presently appeared that all the men of rank who were concerned in it were his most intimate and confidential friends, nor did himself escape suspicion. It is indeed evident, from more than one passage in his history of this year, that he was cognisant of the conspiracy, though proof was wanting of his being actively engaged in it. Thus situated, it would have been most scandalous in him to have abandoned his friends, or even wholly to have withdrawn himself from them, and Burnet, though cautious, was far from deficient either in courage or warmth of heart. He boldly, therefore, continued his intercourse with them as long as he could, and obtained a special permission to attend on Lord Russel in the interval between the trial of that nobleman and the moment of his death, presently after which he was called before the Cabinet Council, and closely questioned on the matter of Russel's last words to the people, and the paper which he had delivered on the scaffold to the sheriffs, both which Burnet was suspected to have written. No further steps were then taken against him. He retired for a short time to Paris, and, returning to his studies, prepared for the press "a Translation and examination of a letter written by the last general assembly of the clergy of France to the Protestants, inviting them to return to their communion," &c. and also "a Translation of Sir Thomas More's Utopia," which were this year published, as was in the following, his " Life of William Bedel, Bishop of Kilmore." At length he was dismissed from his lectureship of St. Clement's, and his office of preacher at the Rolls, by the express command of the King, whose death occurring very shortly after, he obtained leave, seemingly without difficulty, to quit the kingdom, immediately after the accession of James.

He now made at leisure the tour of the best part of France, Italy, Switzerland, and Germany, of which he printed two years after a lively and instructive narrative. At length he settled at the Hague, where it is scarcely necessary to say that he was most cordially received. He became immediately, as might be expected, a most active and important party in the consultations which were then daily held there preparatory to the execution of the Prince of Orange's design on the English Crown, and acquired so high a degree of favour and confidence with the Princess as to draw from her unfortunate father two very angry letters, together with a demand, through his ambassador, that Burnet should be forbade their court, which, as a mere matter of form, was complied with. His influence however remained there; and all the time that he could spare from personal correspondence with them and their friends was employed in writing pamphlets, which were abundantly dispersed in England, and reprinted together in 1689, with the title of " a Collection of eighteen Papers relating to the Affairs in Church and State during the Reign of King James the second." Prosecutions for high treason were at length commenced against him both in England and Scotland, but the States refused to deliver him up, and plans, as he tells us, were afterwards laid to seize his person, or even to take his life. To secure himself against all endeavours to reclaim him by negotiation, or else as a measure of defiance, he procured letters of naturalization there, and so became a Dutch subject, and having been now for some time a widower, married a lady of that country, Mary Scott, said to have been descended from the House of Buccleuch, whose ancestors had for several generations held public employments of consideration in the provinces of Holland and Zealand.

He attended William on his expedition to England in the character of his chaplain, and drew the most important documents which were issued on that occasion by the Prince, who appointed him to the see of Salisbury a very few days after he took possession of the Throne. At full liberty now to indulge publicly his favourite notions of church doctrine and discipline, he became the strenuous advocate in Parliament for the almost unlimited toleration of Protestant dissenters of all sorts. His political whiggism however proved less fortunate; for having, in 1689, in his aversion even to that shadow of hereditary right which might seem to furnish a pretence to Mary's accession to the Throne, asserted in a "Pastoral Letter" to the clergy of his diocese on the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, that the title of the King and Queen were founded on conquest, the two Houses of Parliament ordered that the letter should be burned by the hangman, which was done accordingly. He lost however by his folly no favour at Court, nor was he less esteemed at Hanover by the electoral family, whose succession to the Crown of England he was appointed to propose in the House of Peers, and with whose illustrious heir, the Princess Sophia, he had the honour to hold a pretty regular epistolary correspondence till her death. In 1692, he printed a treatise intitled "The Pastoral Care:" in the following year "Four Discourses to the Clergy of his Diocese," on the truth of the Christian religion; on the divinity and death of Christ—on the infallibility and authority of the Church; and on the obligation to continue in its communion: and in 1695 an Essay on the character of his great patroness, Queen Mary, who died at the end of the preceding year. In 1698 he became again a widower, but was re-married with uncommon expedition. His third wife, whom he also survived, was a daughter of Sir Richard Blake, a Hampshire knight, and relict of Robert Berkley, of Spetchley, in Worcestershire.

In the same year William conferred on him the office of preceptor to the Duke of Gloucester, the only survivor of the numerous issue of the Princess of Denmark, and presumptive heir to the Crown. This royal youth also, of whose qualifications the Bishop speaks with the greatest praise, died in little more than a year after. From this period he took scarcely any concern in public affairs, unless the great pains taken by him in procuring that application of the first fruits and tenths to the augmentation of poor benefices, which is commonly known by the denomination of " Queen Anne's bounty," may be so deemed. It is to his benevolent zeal that the clergy are indebted for the first suggestion, and subsequent prosecution and enactment, of that excellent measure. He retired to his diocese, and, having passed the remainder of his life there in the most exemplary performance of all the duties of a christian prelate, died on the seventeenth of March, 1714-15, and was buried in the parish church of St. James, Clerkenwell, in London; leaving issue three sons, William, Gilbert, and Thomas, the first and third of whom were bred to the law, and the second to the church. We are not informed which of the Bishop's ladies was their mother, nor whether he had any other children.

Burnet wrote some small unimportant tracts, chiefly controversial, which it is unnecessary here to enumerate. His two great works, the history of the reformation, and the history of his own times, will, in spite of imperfections, ever stand high in the first order of English classics; the one for patient and diligent investigation, for clearness of arrangement, and rigour of proof; the other, for the astonishing number and variety of the facts which it discloses; and for a vivacity so bewitching as to beguile us with an illusion of the real presence of the persons and things described. That disposition perhaps contributed to betray him occasionally into the regions of invention, a fault which has already been unwillingly ascribed to him in the foregoing pages, and which is certainly, in a covert, but good humoured strain, alluded to by the witty Marquis of Halifax, in a character, written in his lifetime, an extract from which ought, on all accounts, to be here inserted—" Dr. Burnet," says the Marquis, " is like all men who are above the ordinary level, seldom spoken of in a mean—he must either be railed at or admired. He has a swiftness of imagination that no other comes up to; and, as our nature hardly allows us to have enough of any thing without having too much, he cannot at all times so hold in his thoughts but that at some time they may run away with him, as it is hard for a vessel that is brimful when in motion not to run over; and therefore the variety of matter that he ever carries about him may throw out more than an unkind critic would allow of. His first thoughts may sometimes require more digestion, not from a defect in his judgement, but from the abundance of his fancy, which furnishes too fast for him. His friends love him too well to see small faults, or, if they do, think that his greater talents give him a privilege of straying from the strict rules of caution, and exempt him from the ordinary rules of censure. He produces so fast, that what is well in his writings calls for admiration, and what is incorrect deserves an excuse. He may in some things require grains of allowance which those only can deny him who are unknown or unjust to him. He is not quicker in discerning other men's faults than he is in forgiving them; so ready, or rather glad, to acknowledge his own, that from blemishes they become ornaments."



Engraved by W. T. Mote.

JOHN, FIRST LORD SOMERS.

OB. 1716.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF KNELLER, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE Rt. HONble. THE EARL OF HARDWICKE.

London, Published Nov. 1. 1834 by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

JOHN, LORD SOMERS.

The professional career of a lawyer, however eminent, is scarcely ever productive of many incidents likely to excite general interest, and the life of a statesman, subsequently to a certain period of our annals, is almost always shrouded in obscurity, while the incessant application of both to circumstances nearly infinite in variety as well as in number, in which their passions, their sentiments, and their tempers, are in a great measure either unconcerned or concealed, removes them almost wholly from the sphere of ordinary life, and leaves them, in the strict and simple sense of the phrase, without characters. It was in those two stations, and in them only, that this eminent person became highly distinguished; but the extent of his reading, the power of his eloquence, and the wisdom of his decrees, are forgotten, even by the heirs of those who profited or suffered by them, and it is remarkable that his biographers, and they were many, have given us very few particulars of them. As a statesman, we are but little better acquainted with him; for he was placed in that character by the revolution of 1688, an event which, amidst the stupendous benefits commonly ascribed to it, was peculiarly unfavourable to the future interests of history and biography, by substituting for the splendid merits, and the bold faults, of ministers of other days, the small dexterity of financial contrivance, and the innumerable frauds and meannesses which hide themselves in secresy, and, when by chance detected, are seldom worth recording. Amidst those disadvantages, which have narrowed our view of his story, Lord Somers lived, and, in spite of their evil influence, seems to have lived and died an honest man.

He was born on the fourth of March, 1652, and was the eldest, or perhaps only, son of John Somers, an attorney of reputation and large practice in the city of Worcester, by Catherine, daughter of a person of the name of Ceaverne, of the county of Salop. His father had been engaged in the rebellion, and actually commanded a troop in Cromwell's army, and doubtless from his early lessons his child imbibed that political bias which tinged, without soiling, the whole of his public conduct. He was sent early to what is called the College school, in his native town, and completed his education at Trinity College in Oxford, of which he was entered a gentleman commoner, and which he left with the highest reputation for polite, as well as for erudite, literature. Destined always by his father for the bar, he was now removed to the tuition of Sir Francis Winnington, soon after Solicitor General, and became a student of the Middle Temple. Here genius seems to have superseded the necessity of labour. He wrote and published poems and pamphlets, and appeared to ordinary observers to have devoted himself to the varied occupation of a general author, while he was acquiring a degree of knowledge in his profession more extensive than is generally found to reward even the severest study. At this time too he lived much in the society of the most lively persons among the opponents of the Court, and was at length introduced to their graver leaders, the Lords Essex and Russell, and Algernon Sidney, who, finding in him a disposition to assist in the furtherance of their plans, joined to talents which could not but render him a most important acquisition to any party, flattered him by a close intimacy, and indeed by no small share of their confidence. Happily for him however a cool prudence, for which he was always remarkable, restrained him from engaging too far with them, and those connections, which utterly ruined so many, were among the first steps towards his future great elevation.

The immediate effect of them was to invigorate his political pen. He is said (for it is almost needless to observe that such works were published anonymously) to have written about this time "a brief History of the Succession of the Crown of England, collected out of Records," &c. intended as a collection of grounds of argument for the exclusion of James, Duke of York; and, "a just and modest Vindication of the two last Parliaments;" in fact, an answer to the published declaration of Charles the second of his reasons for dissolving them. We hear little of him at the bar till 1683, when he appeared in the Court of King's Bench as advocate for the seditious sheriffs, Pilkington and Shute, with many others, and gained a reputation which rose gradually till it was finally confirmed, and universally acknowledged, on the occasion of the trial, five years after, of the seven Bishops, in which, though the junior counsel, he is said to have far surpassed, not only in argument and eloquence but in legal learning, the whole host of long experienced lawyers to whom he was then joined. He was now admitted into the most secret councils of those who were at that time busily employed in forming the plan for that revolution which six months after they brought to maturity.

On the arrival of the Prince of Orange, he was elected by his native city of Worcester to represent it in what was called the Convention Parliament, which appointed him one of its managers for the great conference between the two Houses on the means to be used for filling the vacant Throne. It is well known that this deliberation on the disposal of three kingdoms was almost wholly confined to a philological discussion of the meaning of two words. It was an apt theme for a display of the subtleties of legal, and the refinements of general, erudition, and Somers's treatment of it in each view has always been extolled as a model of perfection in its kind. He was now on the high road to certain exaltation, and with advantages of which few, if any, of his compeers in effecting the great change could fairly boast. He had abandoned no principles: he had sacrificed no friends: he had deserted no party: nor had he incurred even a suspicion of ingratitude, meanness, fraud, or falsehood, in the whole of his political career.

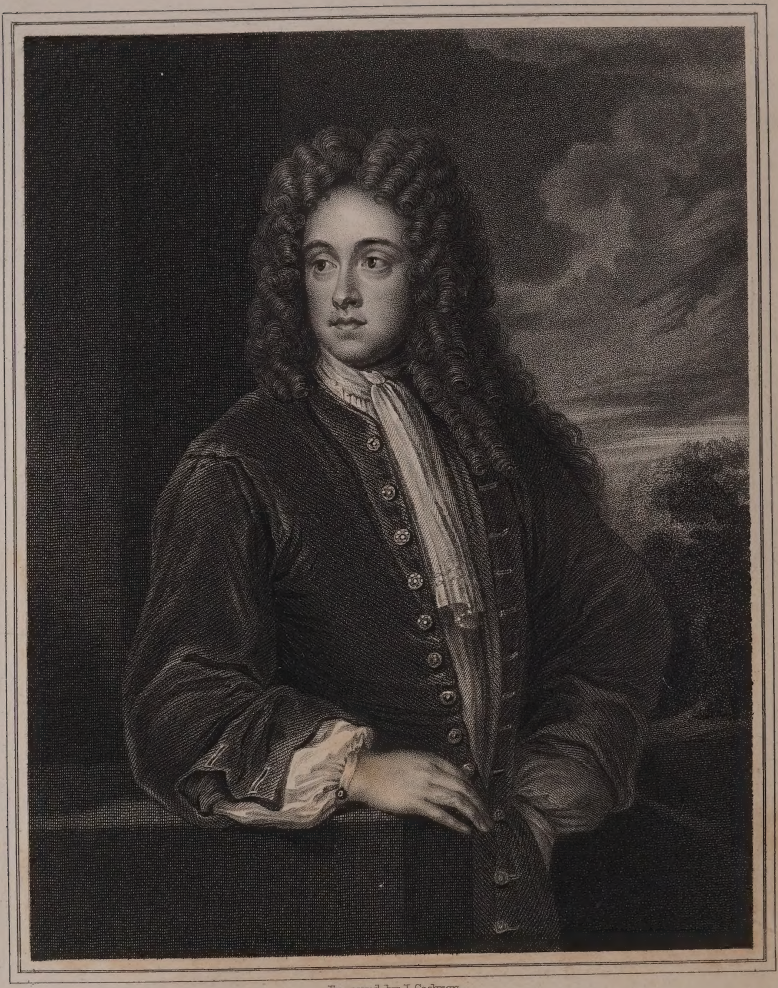
Thus recommended, not less than by his particular services, to a patron of cold and rigid integrity, as well as of solid judgement, he became, on the ninth of May, 1689, Solicitor General; Attorney General on the second of the same month, in the year 1692; and, on the twenty-third of the succeeding March, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal.

From this date we may consider him as William's most confidential adviser, a character which he seems never in a single instance to have abused. His fidelity was rewarded accordingly. On the twenty-second of April, 1697, he was appointed Lord High Chancellor, and on the second of the following December, was created Lord Somers, Baron of Evesham, in the county of Worcester. He remained not long in the lofty station to which he had been thus raised. The High Church party, as the friends to Monarchy and the enemies of the dissenting interest were then called, had long since recovered from the shock which they had received by the revolution; had availed themselves of the licence afforded to them by the doctrines on which it was founded to make ample arrangements to the prejudice of the closely limited King, and his new government; and had at length established an opposition to them in Parliament of sufficient strength to enable them to institute the most vigorous attacks. Of these Somers, because not only the ablest but the most honest of William's advisers, and the Earl of Portland, because he was his personal favourite, were the chosen objects. In the Parliament which met in the end of the year 1698, and which was distinguished otherwise by a peculiar malevolence towards William, it was resolved in the Commons to make a strenuous effort for the dismissal of the Chancellor, and, on the tenth of April, 1700, on grounds so futile that no correct statement of them seems to have been preserved, an address to the King was proposed in that House, and negatived by a small majority, "to remove John, Lord Somers, from his presence and councils for ever." William, not less timid as a politician than bold in the field, prorogued the Parliament the next day, and, retiring immediately to Hampton Court, under great anxiety, sent for the Chancellor, and desired him to resign; but Somers declined, alledging reasons wholly void of selfishness, and intreating the King to dissolve the Parliament, who, we are told, " shook his head, as a sign of his diffidence, and only said ' it must be so,'" and a few days after sent for the seals.

Not satisfied with this degree of triumph, and having found means to increase their party, the opposition in the Commons resolved in the succeeding session to hazard the question of an impeachment, during the agitation of which Somers requested to be heard there, and justified himself with equal candour and firmness. The impeachment however was voted, consisting of fourteen articles, seven of which referred to the negotiation with France in 1698, respecting the succession to the Crown of Spain, and known by the name of " the first Partition Treaty," in which it seems that the King had consulted no one but the Chancellor. The rest were wholly insignificant. Somers answered them seriatim, and they were sent up to the Lords, who, after repeated angry conferences on them with the lower House, wholly dismissed them.

The King died in the same year, and Lord Somers retired in some measure to private life. We find him however voting, and sometimes speaking, in Parliament, particularly in 1702, and the following year, when he took a very active part in the discussion of the bill to prevent occasional conformity; in 1706 he proposed a project for the union of England and Scotland to Queen Anne, who appointed him one of the managers of that great measure; and on the change of the administration in 1708, he returned to the Cabinet, accepting the high office of President of the Council, which he held till the dismissal of the Whigs two years after. From that period his health gradually declined, and with it the powers of his mind. Some of his latter years were passed in an almost total, but quiescent, absence of intellect, and on the twenty-sixth of April, 1716, he expired in a fit of apoplexy.

Lord Somers was a liberal and a judicious patron and encourager of literature and literary men. Of the productions of his own pen a long list may be found in Lord Orford's Royal and Noble Authors, which is not inserted here, because though it is pretty clear that some of those pieces were written by others, it is by no means easy to fix on those which were really his. It has been reported, but apparently on grounds wholly untenable, that he, and not Swift, was the author of "the Tale of a Tub." He was never married, but left two sisters, his coheirs, the eldest of whom, Mary, became the wife of Charles Cocks, and in a grandson of that marriage, Sir Charles Cocks, Bart. the Barony of Somers (since erected into an Earldom) was revived in the year 1784.



Engraved by J. Cochran.

CHARLES TALBOT, DUKE OF SHREWSBURY.

OB. 1718.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF KNELLER, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON$^{\text{BLE}}$ THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

London, Published April 1, 1835, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

CHARLES TALBOT,

DUKE OF SHREWSBURY.

This very eminent nobleman, the only person who ever held his exalted title, seems to have been an object of the peculiar neglect and it may be said injustice, both of his contemporaries and of their posterity. With fine talents, the strictest honour and public principle, and a sweet temper, constantly evinced in the most winning courtesy, he passed many years in the exercise of the highest offices in the State and the Court without popular applause, and without the declared approbation of those whose station and habits of life qualified them to form a just judgement of his merits. Not less careless of his posthumous fame have been the pietists and moralists. The youth whose time and attention from the age of nineteen to twenty-one was occupied in reconciling his conscience to one or the other of the two great rival modes of faith, and who afterwards, through the whole of his manhood, lived constantly in the practice of every domestic virtue, could establish no claim to celebration at their hands. How are we to account for this indifference ? by what means can we discover the cause of this silence ? simply by referring to the facts that, though an English nobleman, always in high public station, he never condescended to become a political partizan, or a religious controversialist.

He was born on the twenty-fourth of July, 1660, the eldest of the two surviving sons of Francis Talbot, eleventh Earl of Shrewsbury of that truly noble house, by his second Countess, Anna Maria, daughter of Robert Brudenel, second Earl of Cardigan. He was peculiarly unfortunate in both his parents, for his father was killed in a duel by the paramour of his mother, George Villiers, second Duke of Buckingham of that family. The wretched woman is said to have held the Duke's horse, in the disguise of a page, while he shed her husband's life-blood, and other circumstances are related of her conduct, immediately after the combat, too horrible and disgusting to be here repeated. The orphan Earl, who was born on the twenty-fourth of July, 1660, and received his Christian name from King Charles the Second, his sponsor, had not reached the age of seven years when the untimely death of his father occurred, and he was taken under the protection of his grandfather, the Earl of Cardigan, through whose fostering care he is said to have received "a learned education," and by whom he was brought up with strictness in the Catholic persuasion. It was doubtless by the advice, and with the countenance, of that nobleman that, in his early minority, he presented, in concert with his brother, a petition to the King, imploring justice on Buckingham, and "touching smartly" (to use the words of some almost contemporary meagre notices of the Talbots) "upon the Duke's scandalous behaviour, and bitterly complaining how, after having basely murdered their father, he continued to load the family with reproach, and, by an infamous detaining of their mother by violence, the successors to the honour and family of the Shrewsburys, being yet infants, and not able to do themselves justice on the person who had so notoriously injured them."

Whether this remonstrance produced any effect the author leaves us uninformed, and it is probable that, through the indolence of Charles, and the fascination in which he was for several years of his reign held by the bewitching liveliness of Buckingham's talents, it was wholly fruitless. Be this at it might, the frightful events which we have slightly recited, operating on feelings of delicate texture, and a natural inclination to seriousness, seem to have impelled the young Earl to seek consolation in the bosom of religious truth. He had scarcely passed the nineteenth year of his age when, without the smallest cloud of fanaticism on his mind, he calmly collected, with the aid of his grandfather, all the arguments that had been used by the most celebrated Catholic divines in defence of the doctrines and discipline of their church, and carried them to Tillotson, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, with whom he had lately become acquainted, requesting his answers to them. Tillotson, doubtless gratified by the prospect of such a proselyte, readily undertook the task, and furnished the Earl with the result, who, after long deliberation on all points of the Doctor's reasonings, and a thorough reconciliation of them to his own conscience, at the end of two years embraced the Protestant religion, and made a public profession of it in Lincoln's Inn chapel. Those eminent treatises against Popery which are to be found in Tillotson's printed works are said to comprize the matter of his communications to Lord Shrewsbury, even in the form in which he made them.

The period at which this recantation occurred affords in itself an ample proof of its sincerity. It was made in the very teeth of the Court, and of Royalty itself, for the King was supposed to be Catholic, and the heir presumptive was publicly professed; the Earl therefore could in no way more effectually have opposed his own interest, and this presently became evident, for he found himself slighted and avoided by those of his own rank, and openly vilified by the ordinary multitude of the Romish party. He retired therefore into privacy during the remainder of that reign, but was singularly enough, invited to the Court immediately on his accession, by James, who gave him one of the state swords to carry at the Coronation, and placed him soon after, contrary to the inclination both of the Court, and ministry, in the dignified office of Lord Chamberlain of the Household, which he presently resigned, giving him about the same time the command of the sixth regiment of Horse. It could not however be expected that the violent measures used in that short reign towards the re-establishment of the ancient church should be endured with patience by one so peculiarly distinguished as a cherisher of the opposite persuasion. The Earl was one of the first to offer his services to the Prince of Orange, and one of the first whom his Highness took into his especial confidence, and by whose advice he submitted to be chiefly guided. The meetings of the great leaders of the revolution were mostly held at his house; the Prince's declaration is said to have been drawn by him; and he was one of the first of the English nobility who presented himself personally to the Prince in Holland, with serious and digested proposals, having before his departure mortgaged his estate for forty thousand pounds which he carried to William.

It is just at this period that Bishop Burnet gives us the following short character of him, contrasting it to that of the Lord Mordaunt, afterwards the celebrated Earl of Peterborough, one of his compeers in the great enterprise.—"Next year," says Burnet, "a man of a far different temper came over to the Prince, the Earl of Shrewsbury. He had been bred a Papist, but had quitted that religion upon a very critical and anxious enquiry into matters of controversy. He seemed to be a man of great probity, and to have a high sense of honour. He had no ordinary measure of learning; a correct judgement; and a sweetness of temper that charmed all who knew him. He had at that time just notions of government, and so great a command of himself, that I never heard any one complain of him, but for his silent and reserved answers, with which his friends were not always well pleased. His modest deportment gave him such an interest in the Prince that he never seemed so fond of any of his ministers as he was of him. He had only in general laid the state of affairs before the Prince, without pressing him too much." In this visit however all the most material arrangements for William's coming were settled, and Shrewsbury arrived in England in September, 1688, with full powers from him to conclude with his friends on all inferior particulars. Within a few days after his landing, he commissioned the Earl, with two others, to treat with some noblemen, sent for that purpose by the forlorn James; after whose abdication, and final departure, William also chose him, and a very few others, to learn from the leaders of the revolution the terms on which it was intended to offer to him the vacant throne, and to declare to them those on which he would accept it.

On the day following the accession of William and Mary he was sworn of their Privy Council, and appointed one of the two principal Secretaries of State. "He had," says Burnet again, "the greatest share of the King's confidence, and no exception could be made to the choice, except on account of his youth; but he applied himself to business with great diligence, and maintained his candour and temper with more reservedness than was expected from one of his age." In spite however of these, and other advantages, disputes presently arose between him and his brother Secretary, the Earl of Nottingham, particularly regarding the bills of indemnity for the late King's friends and servants, and for an abjuration of James himself, both which were the subjects of much debate in the first session of the second Parliament of the reign. Nottingham opposed the last with earnestness, and even prevailed on the King to use his personal influence against it in the House of Commons, and Shrewsbury tendered his resignation to William, who refused to accept it, but the Earl, though usually compliant and indecisive, was determined to quit the post. The curious correspondence between them on this point has been of late years published, and shews us that Shrewsbury, in stating his motives, makes no complaints but of himself. "Diligence and industry," says he in a letter of the sixth of September, 1689, pressing the King to allow him to retire, "are talents that naturally I never had, and I have now more reason than ever to despair of attaining, since ill health, as well as a lazy temper, join to oppose it." William wrote to him on the following day, still refusing to part with him, and the rest of the year passed in a large interchange of such letters, the Earl reiterating his request to resign, and the King denying. They are singularly remarkable for a freedom and familiarity of expression of which perhaps no parallel instance can be found in epistles between Prince and subject. At length, in the following June, the agitation of Shrewsbury's mind upon this point threw him into a violent fever, and he sent the seals by the Earl of Portland to the king, who most unwillingly retained them.

William was careful to give a public proof that this retirement from office of his favoured servant arose not from any feeling of royal displeasure, for, in the hour, as it were, of his resignation, he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of the counties of Hertford, Worcester, and Hereford. He now retreated for a time to private life, and it seems to have been in this interval that he received grievous injuries by a fall from his horse, which deprived him of the sight of an eye, and produced an asthmatic affection that gradually increased for many years, and finally undermined his constitution, which however was in some measure restored from time to time by medicine and good management. In 1693, the King dismissed the Earl of Nottingham, and immediately sent for Shrewsbury, and pressed him, but again in vain, to accept his former station. The Earl peremptorily refused, and returned into the country, when William condescended to endeavour to regain him by artifice, and employed two ladies, Mrs.Villiers, afterwards Countess of Orkney, who was reputed to be a favourite of his own, and a Mrs. Lundee, who was said to possess influence over the Earl. These powerful negotiators were successful; Shrewsbury was again sworn a principal Secretary of State, on the fourth of March, 1693-4, and, in reward of his tardy compliance, was on the twenty-fifth of April elected a Knight of the Garter, and, on the thirtieth, advanced to the dignities of Marquis of Alton, and Duke of Shrewsbury. About the same time, the Lieutenances of the counties of Anglesey, Flint, and Merioneth, were added to the local jurisdictions before entrusted to his charge.

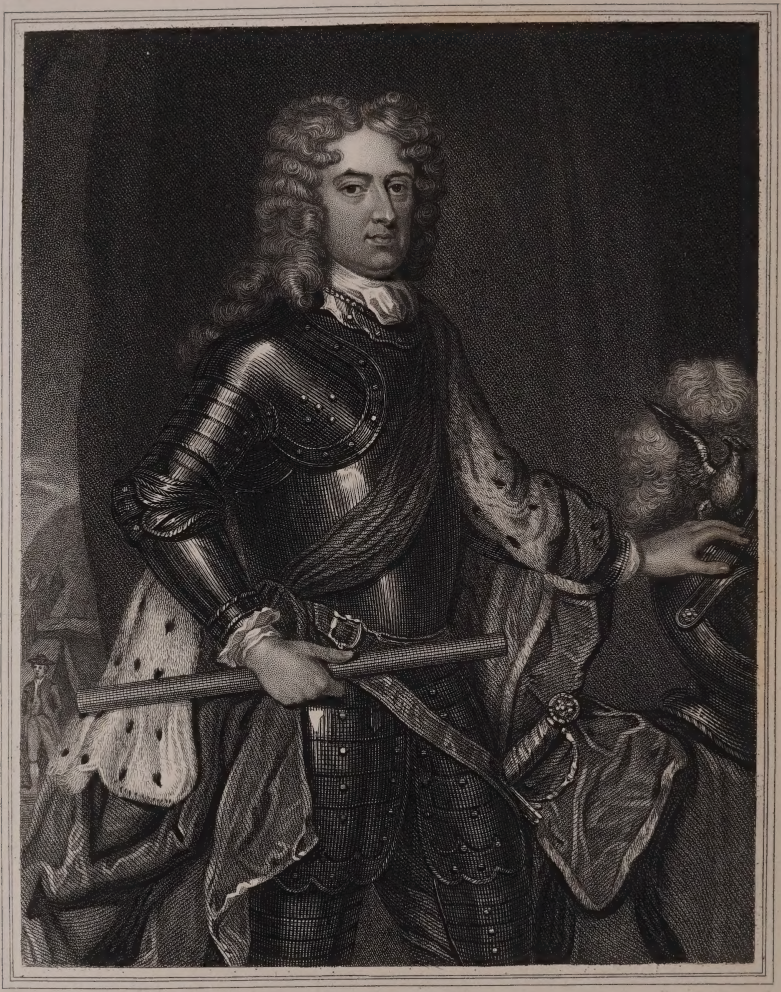
The singularities of which we have here spoken, as well in the conduct of William as in that of Shrewsbury, are not to be attributed to any of the motives by which the intercourse of Kings and statesmen are usually actuated. Here all was frankness and sincerity, the result of private friendship, and of the purest public principles, equally mutual. Numerous attempts were now made to alienate the King's attachment from him, but it was invincible. The meanest stratagems, and artifices not less absurd than wicked were used. A creature of Sir John Fenwick, then a prisoner, charged with high treason, who had affected to make discoveries at the Duke's office, on being slighted there, turned upon him, and in 1696 insinuated to some noblemen that he was a party to the conspiracy; and Fenwick himself, in the hope of saving his own life, conveyed to the Duke of Devonshire that Shrewsbury was in correspondence with the exiled King, through Lord Middleton, and had been allowed by James to re-accept the post of Secretary, as he would be of more service to that Prince's affairs in that station. The first intelligence which Shrewsbury had of these machinations was by a letter from William himself, in which, with expressions of equal kindness and magnanimity, he declared his utter disbelief of the whole, nor would he for a moment listen to the Duke's request, renewed on this occasion, to be allowed to quit the ministry. In May, 1699, however, upon some disgust conceived against the Earl of Portland, who was his only rival in the King's personal favour, and the Earl of Halifax, for the large share taken by that nobleman in the invention and establishment of the public funds, a scheme which the Duke had, from its earliest infancy, most earnestly deprecated and opposed, he did resign his office of Secretary, his physician having assured the King that the state of his health necessarily required the relaxations of leisure, and foreign travel. William, to prove that his esteem for him was yet wholly unimpaired, and that Shrewsbury left the Cabinet solely by his own choice, now appointed him Lord Chamberlain, which he relinquished in the succeeding year, and, leaving England, after a long tour, settled at Rome, where he married Adelaide, a widow, daughter of the Marquis Paliotti, a Bolognese nobleman.

He remained abroad for six years. William died during his absence, but he was received by Queen Anne on his return with scarcely diminished grace, sworn of her Privy Council, and, on the fifteenth of April, 1710, restored to his post of Lord Chamberlain. The more violent whigs ascribed this mark of favour to his secret abandonment of their party, to which indeed he had always moderately inclined, and were confirmed in that opinion by his votes on Sacheverell's trial, which were uniformly opposed to them.

Marlborough and Godolphin however, who knew, and could not but respect, his independence, thought otherwise; strove to remove those jealousies; and lived in friendship with him, as they did after their disgrace, when, with the same unblemished reputation, he generally supported the administration of Harley. In December, 1712, upon the violent death of the Duke of Hamilton, he was appointed Ambassador to the Court of France, to conclude the negotiation for a peace, and had scarcely returned when he was nominated Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. There, as almost always in his public life, his strict impartiality excited at once respect and disgust, and no party could deny that he rendered important service to that country, while he performed his duty to the Queen irreproachably. When he returned he found Anne in the arms of death, accelerated by the furious feuds between the leaders of her ministry, Oxford and Bolingbroke. She sent hastily for him; put into his hands the staff of Lord High Treasurer; and soon after expired.

On the accession then of George the first, he was at once Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord High Treasurer of Great Britain, and Lord Chamberlain of the Royal Household, three great appointments never, before nor since, held by one person at the same time. He was now nominated one of the Lords to govern the kingdom till his Majesty's arrival; after which, on the twentieth of September, 1714, he was made groom of the Stole, and Keeper of the Privy Purse, and was, on the seventeenth of the succeeding October, once more placed in the office of Lord Chamberlain, which shortly before his death he resigned.

This great nobleman expired on the first of February, 1717-18, without issue; his titles therefore of Duke and Marquis became extinct, and the Earldom of Shrewsbury devolved on a distant branch of the family.



Engraved by H. T. Ryall.

JOHN CHURCHILL, DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

OB. 1722.

FROM THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

London, Published Jan.y 1 1833, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

JOHN CHURCHILL,

FIRST DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

The history of this eminent person was for more than fifty years after his death almost wholly confined to the splendid details of a career of military glory, not more distinguished by sagacity and bravery than by the most surprising good fortune. The curious industry however of later days has discovered facts, and disclosed secrets, which it might be almost wished had still slept silently in the obscure recesses from which they were drawn. It is the duty of the biographer to state the whole with candour, impartiality and freedom. It is at least his privilege to search for causes and motives; to argue on them, and on their results; and to declare his conclusions and opinions fearlessly and honestly. It is on these principles that he means to conduct the following memoir, as well as to found its pretentions to credit.

John, Duke of Marlborough, was the second born son, but by the death of his elder brother Winston in infancy, heir, of Sir Winston Churchill, a gentleman descended from an ancient Norman stock settled in the west of England, by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Drake, of Ash, in the parish of Musbury, in Devonshire. He was born there on the twenty-fourth of June, 1650. His father, who was a zealous loyalist, and had fought gallantly, and suffered severely, for the royal cause, removed with his family to London soon after the restoration, to seek some reward. Here John is said to have been placed at St. Paul's school, where he could have remained but a short time, since it is certain that the Duke of York appointed him at a very tender age one of his pages, and procured for him soon after an ensign's commission in one of the regiments of foot guards. His sister, Arabella, was received also into the same royal household in the character of a maid of honour to the Duchess, and appeared soon after in that of mistress to the Duke. In what degree the partiality already manifested towards him by James was increased by that circumstance may be easily conceived.

Passing over his appearance as a volunteer, for such it seems, at Tangier, which the Moors then held in continual siege, it may be said that his first military service was in 1672, when England, then leagued with France against the Dutch, sent a force of six thousand men to Holland under the Duke of Monmouth. Here, in the rank of a captain of grenadiers, he displayed, particularly in the sieges of Nimeguen and Maestricht, the most signal bravery; acquired the personal regard of the great Turenne; and received the thanks of Louis the fourteenth, together with that monarch's peculiar recommendation of him to his own sovereign. The second campaign in Holland having ended, the English regiments which were still left at the disposal of the King of France marched with the French army against the Imperialists, and Louis, in the spring of 1674, nominated Churchill colonel of one of them. During this period of foreign service the Duke of York appointed him a gentleman of his bedchamber, and master of the robes. He corresponded constantly with that prince; frequently visited England, for the sole purpose of attending to his affairs; and had insensibly acquired, together with no small share of personal regard, his entire confidence.

In 1678 he married Sarah, second daughter and coheir of Richard Jennings, of Sandridge, in Hertfordshire. This lady is mentioned thus early in the present sketch because so much of her husband's political conduct may be referred to the peculiarities of her understanding and temper that we must necessarily take her with us as an occasional guide to the truth. He now obtained a regiment of infantry, and was sent, on a temporary breach between Charles and Louis, to negotiate a treaty of alliance with the Prince of Orange against the French, which was soon after rendered abortive by a general peace. He returned to his domestic and confidential attendance on James, whom he constantly accompanied in the various wanderings to which that prince was compelled by the rage of faction towards the conclusion of his brother's reign. He became the medium of their most secret and important correspondence, not only with each other, but with the King of France, to whom he was occasionally dispatched on missions of the utmost privacy and delicacy. These services were rewarded by a grant, in 1683, of the title of Lord Churchill of Aymouth, in Scotland, to which was added the commission of colonel of a regiment of horse guards, then newly raised. His wife, who had been selected in her childhood as the familiar companion of the Princess Anne, and was beloved by her with a tenderness even extravagant, was about the same time, when that princess's establishment was settled, on her marriage with the Prince of Denmark, appointed a lady of her bedchamber.

In the following year his royal patron mounted the throne; sent him ambassador to Paris to notify that event; and on his return elevated him to an English peerage, with the style of Baron Churchill of Sandridge. Monmouth's feeble rebellion, which immediately followed, produced new proofs of his military merit. By the rapid and judicious movements of a squadron intrusted to his command he prevented thousands from joining the standard of the Duke, whom he then forced prematurely to the general action at Sedgemoor, in which he highly distinguished himself, as he had on the preceding day by disconcerting a plan of the enemy to throw the King's army into disorder. It is strange that he should have received no higher reward for these services than the rank of major-general, and the complimentary transfer of his colonelcy to an older corps of horse guards; and yet more remarkable that he should have been placed in no distinguished office, either in the state or court, during the reign, short as it was, of a master whose partiality towards him seemed to extend almost to favouritism. James probably considered his talents applicable merely to military service, in which no future opportunity offered of employing them; Churchill doubtless thought otherwise; and hence perhaps imbibed sentiments of disgust and anger, to which in some measure may be reasonably referred that heavy charge on his conduct to which we shall next advert.

On the landing of the Prince of Orange he was among the first who abandoned James; nor was this the half unwilling step of one at length driven by necessity to determine which of two parties contending for a crown was the most justly entitled to his allegiance. He had been long engaged in a secret intercourse with William. Eighteen months before, a period at which James's confidence in him was at its height, he had written to the Prince to offer, in indirect terms, the meaning however of which was evident, not only his own services, but those of the Princess Anne of Denmark, under whose authority he professes to make the communication. The avowed motive, on his own part as well as on her's, was an earnest devotion to the protestant church. Of Anne's sincerity in this respect there is perhaps no reason to doubt, but that Churchill, bred a courtier and a soldier of fortune, should have been decided on the greatest of all political questions, not by any fear of interruption to his own practice of that mode of faith which he might prefer, for of that he knew there could be no danger, but by his dread that the nation might relapse into popery, is indeed somewhat difficult of belief. The simple truth, it can scarcely be doubted, however reluctantly we may believe it, is that he foresaw the ruin which overhung his sovereign, and determined not to share in the peril of its fall, but to triple his views of preferment by adding the good graces of William and Mary to those of Anne, which he already possessed in the utmost plenitude. The flight also of that Princess from her father is ascribed to the persuasions of himself and his lady, and the charge of ingratitude and treachery too justly founded on the whole, has been of late years aggravated by reports which, as they seem too horrible to deserve credit, I will not here repeat. They may be found in the first volume of Macpherson's " Original Papers."

One of the last acts of James's royal authority in England was to raise him to the rank of lieutenant-general, and to give him the command of a brigade in the army which was hastily marched into the west to oppose the invaders; and Churchill's first act after his arrival at the royal quarters was to join the Prince of Orange, with as many of the officers of that brigade as he could persuade to accompany him. His activity in the service of his new master was remarkable. He flew to London, to secure his own troop of horse guards, and other military that remained in that quarter; returned with the news of his success to William; and attended his triumphant entry into the metropolis. Here however he paused; and when the question was agitated in the Convention Parliament whether the throne had become vacant by the flight of the King, absented himself with all due decorum from the discussion, as though, in the simplicity of his heart, he had never till then dreamed of that Prince's expulsion, or of William's design to succeed him. That point being settled, he again became busy, and, in concert with his wife, persuaded their patroness, Anne, to relinquish her presumptive right, and content herself with the chance of obtaining the crown by outliving the Prince of Orange. Immediately on the accession of William and Mary he was sworn of the Privy Council; appointed a lord of the bed-chamber; and created Earl of Marlborough.

The new reign had scarcely commenced when the King and Queen disagreed with the Princess Anne on the amount of the revenue to be granted to her, and the usual artifices of party were exerted to effect, as in the end they did, an irreparable breach. Marlborough appeared openly at the head of those who supported the Princess's claim, and William was more displeased than his phlegmatic temper usually allowed. That disposition however enabled him to dissemble. He wanted English generals, and had too high an opinion of Marlborough's military talents to break with him at that time. He was sent therefore to command the English forces then serving against the French in the Netherlands, where he acquitted himself with great credit in the campaign of 1689, and soon after his return, embarked for Ireland, at the head of five thousand men, and achieved, with equal bravery and discretion, the most of that which William had left undone towards the final discomfiture of James's adherents in that island after the battle of the Boyne. While these matters were passing, and during his absence in Holland, whither he attended the King in May, 1691, the discord between the royal sisters arose to the most extravagant height. It was imputed in a great measure to Marlborough and his lady; and this suspicion, aided by the resentment of the Dutch favourite, Portland, whom it was their custom to abuse and ridicule without mercy, so aggravated William's former displeasure, that on the tenth of January, 1692, he suddenly required from the Earl the surrender of all his employments, civil and military, and forbade his appearance at court. Such is the account given by the memoir-writers of that time of the motives to Marlborough's dismissal, but it has been rendered doubtful by certain late disclosures. Prodigious as it may seem, he was at that time in close and confidential correspondence with the court of St. Germains; and had professed to the exiled King the deepest penitence for the part which he had acted, and the most determined resolution (to use the words of the late publication of James's memoirs of his own latter years) "to redeem his apostacy with the hazard of his utter ruin," by using his most strenuous efforts to replace that Prince on the throne. How much more reasonable then to suppose that Marlborough's sudden disgrace arose from William's discovery of this intercourse than to ascribe it to the quarrels of women, and the malicious gossip of tea tables; nor indeed can the fact be doubted when we find that on the fifth of the following May he was arrested on a charge of high treason; that, though the instant discovery of the infamous character of his accusers screened him from a public prosecution, yet that he was detained a prisoner in the Tower for many weeks after some other persons of quality who had been involved in the accusation were released; and that immediately on his being admitted to bail, his name was struck out of the list of the Privy Council.

He remained for the next five years unemployed, except in cultivating to his utmost the favour at once of the Princess Anne, and of her royal father. Efforts however were not wanting to replace him in the public service, though his friends seem to have entertained little hope of restoring him to William's confidence. That they were fully conscious of that Prince's knowledge of his tergiversations is evident. The Duke of Shrewsbury, then secretary of State, in a letter of the twenty-second of May, 1694, recommends him strongly to William—"He has been with me," says the Duke, "to offer his services, with all the expressions of duty and fidelity imaginable. What I can say by way of persuasion on this subject will signify but little, since I very well remember, when your Majesty discoursed with me upon it in the spring, you were sufficienlty convinced of his usefulness; but some points remained of a delicate nature, too tender for me to pretend to advise upon, and of which your Majesty is the only judge. If these could be accommodated to your Majesty's satisfaction I cannot but think he is capable of being very serviceable. It is so unquestionably his interest," adds the Duke, with a severity certainly unintended, "to be faithful, that that single argument makes me not doubt it." William, in answer to this part of Shrewsbury's letter, says—"In regard to what you wrote in your last concerning Lord Marlborough I can say no more than that I do not think it for the good of my service to intrust the command of my troops to him." It is most singular that the only observation which Marlborough's late voluminous and acute biographer makes on these letters is that "they throw no light on the causes of the King's displeasure."

On the fourth of May, 1694, in the very hour when, as we have just now seen, he was laying at William's feet his expressions of the utmost "duty and fidelity," he wrote to James to apprize him of the sailing from Portsmouth of a force designed to destroy the French fleet in the harbour of Brest. His intercourse with that Prince and his ministers was now unremitted. At length, in the summer of 1696, the apprehension of Sir John Fenwick, a party in the plot to assassinate William which had been discovered a few months before, produced a direct charge against him. Fenwick, in the hope of saving his own life, accused Marlborough of various transactions, all tending to forward the restoration of James, and particularly of having engaged to secure to that end the army, of which Shrewsbury, who was also then impeached by Fenwick, had solicited the command for him even while the plot was approaching to maturity. Fenwick however was ruined by the plan which he had formed for his defence. The persons whom he had associated with Marlborough in these charges of treason were so numerous, and so eminent, that William durst not proceed against any. Both Houses of Parliament voted the allegations contained in the documents which Fenwick had produced to be false and scandalous, and the Peers, after hearing the exculpatory speeches of Marlborough, and some of the nobles implicated with him, declared themselves satisfied with the justification which had been offered to them. It will seem strange that the King should have chosen this moment to receive his long rejected services. William however, without a single friend among the eminent men of the country; uncertain of the sincere allegiance of any; pressed by the little party headed by Anne, to whom since the late death of his Queen he had, at least in appearance, become reconciled; named Marlborough, even before the tumult raised by the late inquiry had fully subsided, to the important appointment of governor to the young Duke of Gloucester, presumptive heir to the crown. Nor was this all: he was restored also to his seat in the Privy Council, and to his former military rank and command.

He had however acquired William's countenance without gaining his favour. His loyalty was at least strongly suspected, and he balanced his political conduct in public with so much caution between the interests and inclinations of the King and those of the Princess of Denmark as to render himself nearly useless in Council or Parliament to either. Meanwhile he could not conceal his bias towards Anne, whom William regarded with more than the usual dislike bestowed on a successor. It was perhaps as much for the sake of detaching him from her service as with the view of employing his talents in the way which best suited them, that the King took Marlborough with him to Holland in the summer of 1701; appointed him to command the forces in the Netherlands; and invested him with the most extensive powers for the management of the various negotiations preparatory to the grand confederacy then organizing against France. He conducted these treaties through all the mazes of peculiarly jarring interests with a sagacity and address which at once conferred on him the character of a profound diplomatist, and was returning to apply those talents to domestic politics, when William, taking advantage of his absence, dismissed the Tory administration headed by Lord Godolphin, his bosom friend, and partner in his most secret jacobite intrigues. The mortification which he felt from this step was severe but transient. It was terminated four months after by the death of the King, on the eighth of March, 1702, and the accession of Anne opened to Marlborough a career of glory abroad, and of power at home, seldom paralleled in the history of any subject, in any age.

Her first care was to distinguish him. On the third day after she mounted the throne she gave him the Garter, and on the fourth appointed him Commander in Chief of her Armies, and presently after Master General of the Ordnance. The government of affairs at home was again committed to his friends, under Godolphin, who, rather from deficiency of spirit than of wisdom, appears to have been held by him in utter subservience. The warlike policy of William was adopted, and Marlborough went in the character of Ambassador Extraordinary to the Hague, to encourage the Allies, whom the King's death had somewhat dispirited, and indeed to propose an instant declaration of war, which speedily followed. The Prince of Denmark, building on his natural rank, and yet more on the importance derived from his matrimonial alliance with Anne, the head of the confederation, aspired to the command in chief of the great body of troops now put into motion by so many states, and Marlborough, after having with a pardonable affectation of zeal contended for a while for the Prince's pretensions, received himself the splendid appointment of Generalissimo.

It is needless to offer any apology for the slightness with which the numerous and glorious events of the succeeding war must be here traced. The successes of the first year consisted in the reduction of the important fortresses of Venlo, Ruremonde, and Stevenswaert, with their dependencies, on the Meuse, and, finally, of the city of Liege; but, above all, in the constant vigilance, the alternate boldness and caution, rest and action, promptness and delay, of the commander, each always rightly placed, through which the enemy were baffled in every feature of the campaign, without the hazard to the Allies of a single action in the field. The Queen and the nation justly appreciated his conduct, and on his return he received the dignities of Duke of Marlborough, and Marquis of Blandford, by a patent, of the fourteenth of December, 1702.

Early in the following spring he returned to the Continent, where Louis, smarting under his late disappointments, had augmented his armies; changed his commanders; and resolved to prosecute a vigorous offensive war on every side. Portugal had now joined the Allies, and Bavaria had declared for France. Marlborough began by reducing Bonn, the residence of the Elector of Cologne, and, after having been twice prevented by the obstinacy and folly of the Dutch generals from executing an important attack on Antwerp and Ostend, returned to the Meuse, and made himself master of Huy, Limburg, and Guelder. It was now that his intimacy commenced with Prince Eugene of Savoy, a consummate imperialist general, with whom he laid the plan for the ensuing glorious campaign, and determined to penetrate into the heart of Germany, where the Emperor's affairs were on the point of ruin. He marched accordingly to the Danube with astonishing celerity, and, having defeated in a signal action at Donawerth the Bavarian forces, to which a large division of the French troops was united, and desolated the Elector's country even to the walls of his capital, crossed the river, and with great difficulty and peril effected a junction with Eugene. His victory over the main army of the enemy at Blenheim, the most splendid, with one exception, of all modern conquests, almost immediately followed. The remains of the French and Bavarian armies were now forced to take refuge within the frontiers of France, and Germany was left open to the march of the Allies from the Danube to the Rhine, which they crossed, and occupied Alsace. The surrender of the important fortresses of Landau and Trierbach concluded this memorable campaign, and the Emperor testified his gratitude to the victor by creating him a Prince of the Empire, to which dignity was annexed in the succeeding year the grant of an extensive domain.

The next was little less glorious. The remarkable enterprize in which Marlborough forced the French lines at Tirlemont was followed soon after by his victory at Ramilies, second only to the triumph of Blenheim, and by the consequent surrender of Louvaine, Brussels, Mechlin, Ghent, Bruges, and indeed the whole of Brabant. Even the strong fortresses of Antwerp, Ostend, Menin, Dendermonde, and others, fell almost without resistance. The Emperor now earnestly pressed him to accept a commission for the government of the Netherlands, thus subdued by him, which the jealousy of the Dutch obliged him to refuse. He retired for a while from these glorious labours, not to repose, but to improve by his counsel the plans, and to aid by his influence the prosecution, of the less fortunate war in Italy and Spain.

He passed the year 1707 in negotiations for a treaty with France, or rather in avoiding the latent dangers of certain propositions for a peace insidiously offered by that power; in endeavouring to gain Charles the Twelfth of Sweden to the interests of the Allies; and in forming plans to disconcert the measures which the French were secretly taking to redeem their late losses in Brabant and Flanders. Among the features of the latter design one of the most important was the defence of Oudenarde, a strong fortress on the Schelde. The enemy, on their way towards it, had surprized Ghent and Bruges, and were threatening Brussels, when Marlborough, in an attack wholly unexpected, after one of the most rapid marches recorded in military annals, won the battle that took its name from the important post which was the object of their meditated attack. The Elector of Bavaria however still lay before Brussels with a formidable force, and the Duke, determined at all hazards to save that city, forced the passage of the river with a noble gallantry, and put to flight the French and Bavarian army which was encamped on the opposite bank. In the meantime he besieged Lille, which held out with an obstinacy of which the whole war had presented no other instance, and at length entered it in the sight of that army, which had again come down purposely to relieve it, and to which he had in vain offered battle even during the siege. This exploit was followed by the surrender of the strong posts taken by the enemy on the Schelde, which the Duke now repassed, relieved Brussels, and retook Ghent after the beginning of a severe winter.

He commenced the campaign of 1709 with the reduction of Tournay, and then sat down before Mons, in the neighbourhood of which city the enemy lay encamped behind works of uncommon extent and strength. These he forced; won the battle of Malplaquet; and Mons, dearly purchased by that furious and sanguinary victory, presently after surrendered. The severe loss sustained on both sides arrested for the small remainder of the season all further active operations. The French army, separated into several divisions, retired to protect the few posts which they still held in Flanders; and Marlborough, having disposed his forces for the ensuing winter, met Eugene at the Hague to consult on the whole system of the widely extended war. Among the results of their deliberations was a plan for the simultaneous invasion of France in several quarters, which was rendered abortive by the selfishness and jealousy of some of the allied powers: in the meantime conferences were again held for settling the preliminaries of a treaty of peace, and broken up by the refusal of Louis to submit to the conditions suggested as to Spain. Marlborough's campaign of 1710 was confined to the French frontier, where, having passed the enemy's lines with exquisite skill, he invested Douay, which surrendered after a siege of six weeks. This acquisition was followed by the reduction of Bethune, Aire, and St. Venant. The operations of the year, rather successful than glorious, were influenced perhaps by those political disorders at home which will be presently mentioned, and which so powerfully affected Marlborough's mind that he now solicited of the Emperor the government, which he had formerly declined, of the Netherlands, as an asylum to which it might be convenient to him to retire from the possible effects of party rage. His request was evaded in terms that amounted to a refusal. The following year closed his services, and, though distinguished by no individual acquisition but the capture of Bouchain, produced perhaps the most remarkable proofs of his refined military skill, in a series of manœuvres by which he completely deceived the most celebrated French commander of his time, and accomplished his purpose of besieging that important fortress.

The Duke of Marlborough's political history, the outlines of which, for the sake of perspicuity, I have divided from the foregoing sketch of his military life, may be said to have commenced with his appointment to the supreme command of the allied army. Nature had formed him for a soldier, and circumstances made him a statesman. Impelled by the masculine spirit and restless ambition of the Duchess, and tempted by the visions of unlimited power and wealth which the Queen's implicit submission to her will, and his consciousness of his own influence over the chief minister Godolphin, had opened to his view, he who displayed in the field the most undaunted courage, and the firmest decision, condescended to become at home a timid politician and a doubting counsellor. It may be questioned whether he was in his heart attached to any party, and, though his early habits inclined him to the Tories, yet he might be said rather to countenance than to act with them, but this seeming luke-warmth may perhaps be ascribed to the Duchess's affection to the Whigs, for he seldom directly opposed her inclinations, at least seldom with her knowledge.

Thus situated, he was entrusted by Anne on her accession to form, in concert with Godolphin, a Tory administration, and, having completed that arrangement, immediately sailed to Holland on his first campaign in the character of Generalissimo. To the Dukedom which was conferred on him at his return was annexed the grant of a pension from the revenue of the post-office of five thousand pounds, and it was proposed that it should be continued to his descendants, bearing the title, but this was strongly opposed in the Commons, and the Queen, at Marlborough's request, withdrew the message by which she had recommended it to the House, and softened the disappointment by the gift of an additional annuity of two thousand, out of her privy purse. He returned this kindness by the most strenuous efforts to procure a superb establishment for the Prince of Denmark, and Anne attributed the success of the bill to that effect, which passed the House of Peers by a majority of a single vote, to the exertions of himself and the Duchess; nor was he less active in favour of the bill for occasional conformity, a measure which she had entirely at heart. The experience of parties in this first session after his appearance on the theatre of the state cost him more solicitude, if we may judge by his subsequent letters from the Continent, than the affairs of a campaign: the next produced embarrassments more vexatious. The Tories, even the ministers themselves, divided into two rancorous factions, one of which, headed by the Earls of Rochester and Nottingham, incessantly inveighed against the war; the continental connections which Marlborough had formed to support it; and, by an easy transition, against the conduct of the General, whom they had accused of prolonging it for his private advantage. Meanwhile the Duchess, taking advantage of these disorders in a party which she detested, vainly assailed him with incessant importunities to coalesce with the Whigs, an union which the Queen as earnestly deprecated. Amidst this various contention, the Duke returned for a few weeks from the army, and, at his request, Robert Harley, whom he had long patronized, was appointed to succeed Nottingham as Secretary of State, and Henry St. John, then introduced by Harley, was made Secretary at War. The Duchess, even in the hour of their promotion, described the characters of these men to her husband, and prognosticated the return which they would make for his distinction of them with a sagacious correctness.

The unparalleled success of his military services, even the stupendous victory of Blenheim, worked no change in the disposition of parties towards him. He became miserable in the midst of his glories. "I will endeavour," says he, in a letter from Germany to the Duchess, of the twentieth of October, 1704, "to leave a good name behind me in countries that have hardly any blessing but that of not knowing the detested names of Whig and Tory:" and in another, about the same time—"I shall serve the Queen with all my soul, even to the hazard of a thousand lives, if I had them; but while I live I will meddle with no business but what belongs to the army;" yet immediately after, in compliance with the Duchess's importunities, he procured the dismissal of the Duke of Buckingham from the custody of the Privy Seal, and the appointment of the Duke of Newcastle as his successor. He soon after returned from his splendid campaign, with the Commander in Chief of the French army a prisoner in his train, and the clamours of faction were for a while unheard amidst the honest acclamations of a people who always judge rightly when they are left to themselves. This interval however was short, and the ministry was soon after so furiously attacked by the most discontented and rapacious of both parties that Godolphin became alarmed; joined his arguments and entreaties to those of the Duchess; and Marlborough at length consented that some of the Whig leaders should be admitted into the government; confident at least of their support in the vigorous prosecution of the war. The Queen, to whom this change was odious, struggled hard to retain Sir Nathan Wright in the office of Lord Keeper, but was at length compelled to place the great seal in the hands of Cowper, and in the intemperance, not to say insolence, with which the Duchess of Marlborough urged her mistress on this point, and to obtain, as at length she did, the office of Secretary of State for her son in law, Sunderland, we discern the first symptoms of the decrease of that implicit compliance with her imperious will to which Anne had for so many years submitted. Her husband, in a blind obedience to his affection for her, seldom failed to second her views and intreaties, and sunk with her, though less rapidly, in the Queen's esteem, while Harley and St. John availed themselves of the influence of another female, whose favour with Anne secretly advanced in proportion to the decline of that of the Duchess, to work their way to power by indirectly thwarting the measures of their great patron, and his friend the Treasurer.

Marlborough however, on his return from the Continent in the autumn of 1706, received not only the cordial thanks of both Houses, but, having lost his only son, an enlarged settlement by the crown of his titles on his four daughters, in succession, and their male issue, and a grant by act of parliament annexing to the title of Duke of Marlborough in all his descendants the manor of Woodstock, and House of Blenheim, built for him at the public charge, together with the pension of five thousand pounds, the entail of which, as has been already observed, was formerly denied to him. Anxious to impress on the Whigs a confidence in his zeal for the protestant succession in the house of Hanover, he espoused with apparent warmth the great and successful project for the Union with Scotland, and returned to his command with vain hopes that he had left a government somewhat settled. He had scarcely however departed when a feud arose between the Queen and her Whig ministers on the disposal of church preferments, and the tenacity with which she asserted her prerogative was ascribed by them to the advice of Marlborough and Godolphin, who had in fact exerted themselves to the utmost to induce her to concede. To this vexation was soon after added the clearest proofs that Mrs. Masham, the female lately alluded to, had not only supplanted the Duchess, by whom she had been rescued from poverty, and provided for in the Court, but that she had become the instrument of communication between the Queen and Mr. Harley, who now evidently aspired to the chief direction of affairs. Marlborough, shortly after his arrival in England in November 1708, and the Treasurer, having used every other instance to persuade Anne to dismiss him, wrote to her to declare plainly that they would no longer serve with him, and accordingly declined to attend at the next meeting of the Cabinet Council. They had prepared, though most unwillingly, to resign, when Harley, finding his interest in Parliament not yet sufficiently ripe to support his pretensions, as unwillingly retired, together with St. John, and a few other dependants.

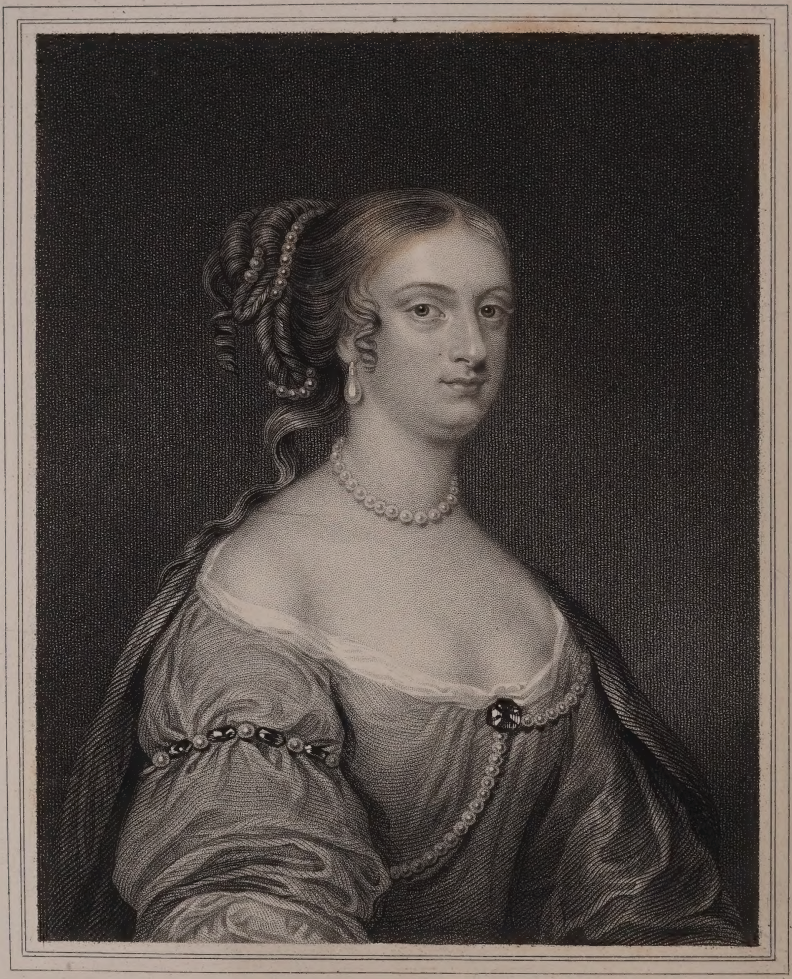
Marlborough and the Treasurer gained little by these changes. The advantage which they obtained by supplying from the Whigs the offices thus vacated was at least counterbalanced by the increased mortification and resentment of the Queen, arising as much from the admission of new members of that party which was so hateful to her, as from having seen her confidential minister removed in a manner by force. The Whigs, on their part, were still dissatisfied, and she was obliged further to sacrifice her prejudices by committing the Privy Seal to Somers, and the Admiralty to Oxford. She ascribed these repeated vexations chiefly to the Duchess, and their intercourse was now invariably marked by bold reproaches on the one side, and a sullen reserve on the other, equally unbecoming to the station of each. It was soon after closed for ever, but not till Marlborough had submitted to make personally the most humiliating efforts to restore her to favour, or what was worse, to persuade the Queen to let her retain her appointments without it. His intreaties were unsuccessful. Resolved, or rather compelled by the Duchess, to retire with her from all political concerns, but anxious, as his enemies alledged, to retain the profits of his military station, he now compromised his dignity by earnestly soliciting of Anne a grant of his appointments of Captain General, and Master of the Ordnance, for his life, and was refused. Enraged by these denials, and little less by the Queen's disposal of certain military promotions against his express advice, he retired suddenly into the country, and formed there a resolution to insist on the dismissal of Mrs. Masham as the only condition on which he could continue to command the army; but the pusillanimity of Godolphin, and the conflicting opinions of the Whig leaders in the ministry, whose advice he had requested, induced him to relinquish this spirited determination.

During this interval Harley, deriving advantage from the leisure afforded by his disengagement from office, planned, with the concurrence of the Queen, a new administration. As their arrangements proceeded, some distinguished Tories were appointed one by one to places in the court and state without consulting the Treasurer, and sometimes even without his previous expectation. Various insults were vainly offered to provoke him to resign, and the Queen was at last obliged to send peremptorily to him for his staff. To dispose of Marlborough, shielded as he was by the glory which he had acquired, by the hope of his future services, and by solicitations, not only at home but by foreign powers, to retain his command, was more difficult. He, like Godolphin, was assailed by the most bitter affronts. On his return from the campaign of 1710, Anne, at his first audience, warned him to prevent his friends from moving the parliamentary vote of thanks which he had so long been accustomed to receive, for, said she, "my ministers will certainly oppose it." Three general officers were cashiered merely for toasting "his health, and confusion to his enemies." A host of political writers, from Swift, and St. John, and Prior, down to the vilest libellers, were employed to load him with every sort of obloquy. His popularity suddenly sunk under these latter attacks, while the Parliament particularly the Peers, betrayed an inclination to censure, if not his conduct in the field, at least his military counsels; and we find in a confidential letter, written at this precise period by Harley, the creature of his hands, this menacing passage—"you must know that the moment he leaves the service, and loses the protection of the Court, such scenes will open as no victories can varnish over." If Marlborough's early years were stained by ingratitude he was now amply repaid in kind.

It is scarcely credible, but even in the following year Harley, now Earl of Oxford and Lord Treasurer, already under the pressure of political necessities, courted Marlborough with the affected confidence of a friend, and the respect of an inferior, and his advances were received with all the semblance of cordiality. The hero at the sound of whose name France trembled now sued from his camp to a puny enemy for protection against nameless slanderers at home and was insulted by his hypocritical condolence. While every dispatch from Harley professed an earnest zeal, and offered the most ample supplies, for the vigorous prosecution of the war, a secret negotiation for peace proceeded in London, and Marlborough had to learn from a newspaper that the preliminaries were signed. He returned, and was apprised on his road that charges of fraud and peculation had been preferred against him to the commissioners of public accounts by one of his army contractors. As he had on his arrival joined the Whigs against the ministry it was resolved to strike a decisive blow; the report of the Commissioners was published by authority, and two days after, on the thirty-first of December, 1711, under the pretence, as it is stated in the Council book, " that the matter might undergo an impartial investigation," the Queen dismissed him from all his employments. The Commons presently after resolved that his conduct in some of the matters alledged against him had been " unwarrantable and illegal," and an order was issued to the Attorney General to prosecute, but no process was ever instituted. His enemies were satisfied by his removal, and preferred the leaving a suspicion on his character to the hazard of a prosecution which it could scarcely be doubted would have terminated favourably to him. Marlborough, with his Duchess, now retired to Germany; devoted his counsels to the service of the Elector of Hanover; and when that Prince left his dominions to take possession of the English throne on the death of Anne, followed him to London.

Little remains to be told. The first acts of the new King were to restore to Marlborough his offices of Captain General, and Master of the Ordnance, and to lavish favours on his family. The invasion of Scotland in 1715 offered the final opportunity for his taking any concern in active military service, and his arrangements for the resistance of that extravagant attempt are said to have been admirably judicious and beneficial. In the course of the succeeding year he had two attacks of palsy, which in a great measure incapacitated him from attending to any but his own private affairs. He survived however till 1722, when nature gave way to a third stroke on the sixteenth of June. His remains were deposited, with the greatest funeral pomp, but, strange to say, not at the public charge, in Westminster Abbey, from whence they were afterwards removed to the chapel at Blenheim House.

The Duke of Marlborough's issue was an only son, John, Marquis of Blandford, who died, as has been already stated, a minor; and four daughters; Henrietta, wife of Francis, second Earl of Godolphin, who succeeded under a settlement above quoted, to her father's dignities, and died without issue; Anne, married to Charles Spencer, Earl of Sunderland, to whose issue they then passed, and from whom the present Duke is lineally descended; Elizabeth, wife of Scrope Egerton, first Duke of Bridgewater; and Mary, of John, Duke of Montagu.



Engraved by J. Cochran.

RACHAEL WRIOTHESLEY, LADY RUSSELL.

OB. 1723.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF COOPER, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

London, Published March 1, 1831, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

RACHAEL WRIOTHESLEY,

LADY RUSSELL.

THE story of Lady Russell, with the exception of one lamentable particular, is confined to private life, and yet, so transcendent were her merits in every relation of existence, and in every point of view, that almost all circumstances which could be gathered concerning her have been carefully preserved, and few persons, especially of her lovely sex, have been more largely celebrated. Her character indeed excelled not only that of woman, but that of man also, for it seems to have involved all the virtues, and all the talents, of both sexes. To a lofty courage and magnanimity it united the most feminine tenderness and mildness, and sweetened and relieved a sagacity which sometimes amounted almost to wisdom, with the simplicity and candour of an amiable child. To these, in her happier days, was added a cheerfulness, constant because it was always innocent, and, throughout the whole of her life, a patience and resignation which never for a moment left her, because they flowed from the purest piety. A series of her letters, which was printed in 1773, and republished in the following year, and a further collection, which appeared in 1819, with a biographical essay prefixed, from the pen of an accomplished female, will amply justify the tribute which we have thus paid to Lady Russell's excellence.

She was the second daughter and coheir of that minister of spotless honesty, Thomas Wriothesley, fourth and last Earl of Southampton of his family, and Lord Treasurer, by his first lady, Rachael, daughter of Henry de Massey, Baron de Rouvigni, a French Protestant Nobleman, to whose care the professors of that faith in France intrusted the interests of their church both there and in England. She was born about the year 1636, and, her mother having died in her infancy, her education is said to have been neglected, a report the correctness of which is rendered at least very doubtful by the language and method of expression used in her epistles. In 1653 she was married to Francis, Lord Vaughan, heir apparent of Richard, Earl of Carbery, a Peer of Ireland. Of this young nobleman, or of the circumstances which led to their union, we have no intelligence whatever, except a trifling notice in one of her letters, from which it may be inferred that he was of a slow and indolent disposition. She had by him an only child, born in 1665, which not long survived it's birth, and he, about two years after, leaving her a widow, she went to live with her elder sister, Elizabeth, Lady Noel, afterwards Countess of Gainsborough, in her mansion at Tichfield in Hants. Here she first attracted the notice, and then the affection, of the Honourable William Russell, at that time second son of William, fifth Earl, and afterwards first Duke, of Bedford, and became his wife in the end of the year 1669.

Certainly never was matrimonial union blessed for several years with more perfect felicity. Russell, who was about the age of twenty-five at the time of their marriage, and who had indulged in a freedom of life which bordered upon libertinism, became a pattern for domestic conduct, and they appear to have lived together, as much, and in as much privacy, as the forms of society could permit to persons of their rank. When separated, letters were continually passing between them, filled, not with extravagant professions of affection, but with those lively and elegant trifles which love so readily coins into a rich interchange, and which were afterwards diversified, not superseded, by the never failing topic of all that was done and said by the three children with which Providence soon blessed them. Thus, in greater bliss perhaps than mortals can merit, passed their days, till Russell weakly condescended to lend his countenance, and great name, to a desperate faction, bent on the reproduction of that anarchy which had been so lately subdued; and to become the tool of the sour republican Sidney ; the wholly unprincipled Shaftesbury ; and the senseless Monmouth. Of the part which he, who had now, by the death of his elder brother, become heir to the titles and estates of his exalted house, unhappily took in the desperate machinations of these men, our histories of the time teem with reports and misrepresentations ; and, as a sketch of his life has already appeared in this work, nothing need be further said of it in this place than that he was arrested and imprisoned in the beginning of July, 1683, on a charge of high treason.

It is but reasonable to suppose that Lady Russell, amply as she enjoyed his confidence, was ignorant of the share that he had actually taken in the plot on which this accusation was grounded : of the general character however of the political inclinations which had recommended him to the conspirators, and rendered him an easy prey to those artifices by which he had been misled to join them, it is impossible that she could have been unconscious ; yet such was her prudence, that not the slightest allusion to that disposition appears in any of her letters, either to himself or others, except in a single instance, and even that is wholly unexplained by any context—in one, of the twenty-second of November, 1681, she says " be wise as a serpent, harmless as a dove." The time had now nearly arrived in which she was called on to display all the energies of her nature ; to bring into action a courage which had hitherto lain dormant for want of necessary occasions ; to disguise a tenderness, the show of which would have broken his heart ; and to conceal a sorrow which was breaking her own.

On the thirteenth of July, 1683, he was brought to trial at the Old Bailey. To the astonishment of all present, Lady Russell accompanied him, and, with a gravity suited to the place and the occasion, seated herself beside him, amidst the tears and sighs of the spectators, she herself alone appearing unmoved ; while her husband, desirous of heightening the effect of the scene to the utmost, and knowing how well her part in it would be performed requested the Chief Justice Pemberton, who presided, that he might have a person to take notes for him. Pemberton replied "any of your servants shall assist you in writing any thing you please," on which Russell said "my wife is here to do it," when she rose in the face of the Court, and, advancing with the modest dignity of an angel to the place appointed for her, prepared to commence her task. She heard his conviction and sentence of death pronounced, and accompanied him to his prison, with the same apparent composure. Arrived there, she canvassed coolly with him the possibilities of obtaining a mitigation of punishment, or, in order to it, at least a postponement of execution. Lord Russell said, as we are informed by Burnet, who attended him constantly, from his trial to his death, "that he wished she would give over beating every bush, and running so about for his preservation; but, when he considered that it would be some mitigation of her sorrow that she left nothing undone that could have given any probable hopes, he acquiesced."

All however was in vain, and he had notice to prepare to die on the twenty-first of July. "At eleven o'clock the night before," says Burnet again, "my Lady left him. He kissed her four or five times, and she kept her sorrows so within herself that she gave him no disturbance at their parting. After she was gone, he said now the bitterness of death was passed, and ran out into a long discourse concerning her—how great a blessing she had been to him: and said what a misery it would have been if she had not had that magnanimity of spirit joined to her tenderness, as never to have desired him to do a base thing for the saving of his life: 'whereas otherwise,' said he, 'what a week I should have passed if she had been crying out on me to turn informer.' He said there was a signal providence of God in giving him such a wife, where there was birth, fortune, great understanding, great religion and a great kindness to him; but her carriage in this extremity went beyond all. He said he was glad that she, and her children, were to lose nothing by his death, and it was a great comfort to him that he left his children in such a mother's hands; and that she had promised him to take care of herself for their sakes, which," says the Bishop, "I heard her do."

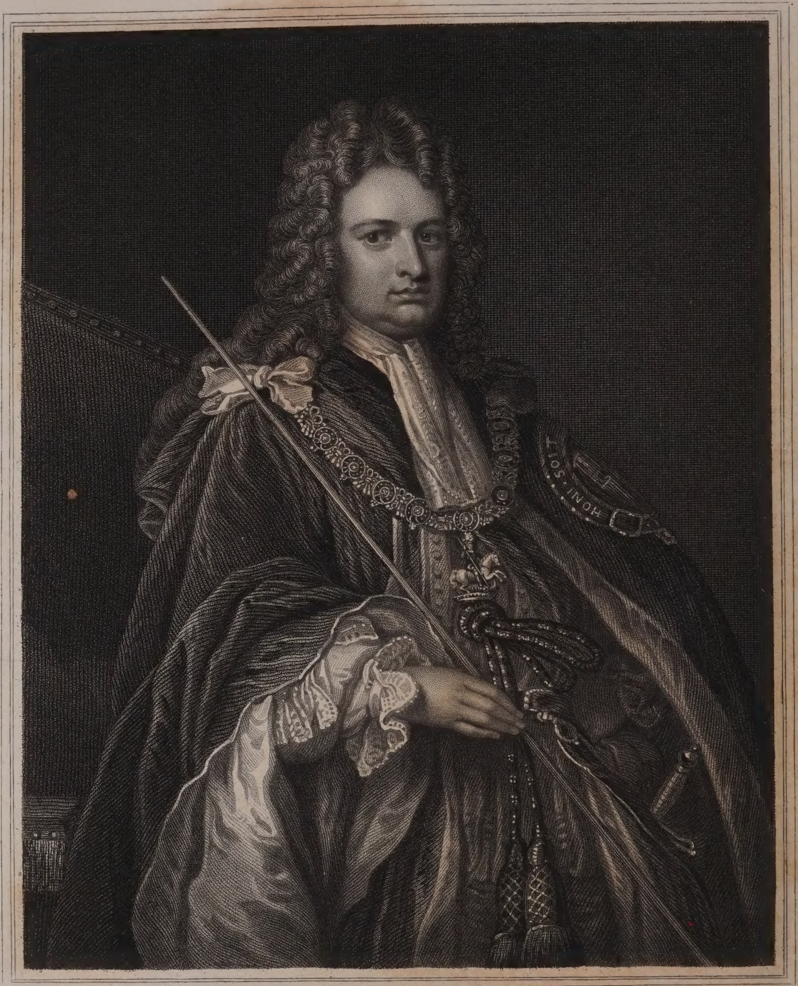
The King caused to be repeated to her, immediately after the death of her Lord, the intimation here alluded to, that he did not mean to profit by Russell's attainder, and her passionate love for her children put on her the painful task of offering some show of thanks. She wrote in consequence to her uncle, John Russell, Colonel of the first regiment of Horse Guards—"I esteem it fit to make some compliment of acknowledgment to his Majesty. To do this for me is the favour I beg of you; but I have written the inclosed paper in such a manner that, if you judge it fit, you may, as you see cause, show it to the King, to let him see what thanks I desire may be made him, but this is left to do as you approve." Lord Halifax, writing to her immediately after, says "I have not seen Colonel Russell, to speak to him concerning the letter your Ladyship mentioned; but, according to my present thoughts, if he delivereth a compliment from you to his Majesty, by your order, it may be less liable to inconvenience or exception than any thing that is put on paper." Charles's omission to interdict any acknowledgment on her part is a proof of his unfeeling heart.

She retired into the country, and now gave way in solitude to her sorrows. On the thirteenth of September, two months after her great calamity, she wrote to Doctor Fitzwilliam, the chaplain and dear friend for many years to her late father and his family, and we find in her letter these exquisite effusions of genuine nature, and holy philosophy—"You, that knew us both, and how we lived, must allow I have just cause to bewail my loss. I know it is common to others to lose a friend; but to have lived with such a one, it may be questioned how few can glory in the like happiness, so consequently lament the like loss. Who can but shrink from such a blow!" And, a little after—"Lord, let me understand the reason of these dark and wounding providences, that I sink not under the discouragement of my own thoughts. I know I have deserved my punishment, and will be silent under it; but yet secretly my heart mourns, too sadly I fear, and cannot be comforted, because I have not the dear companion and sharer of all my joys and sorrows. I want him to talk with, to eat and sleep with. All these things are irksome to me: the day unwelcome, and the night so too. All company and meals I would avoid, if it might be. Yet all this is that I enjoy not the world in my own way, and this sure hinders my comfort. When I see my children before me, I remember the pleasure he took in them: this makes my heart shrink. Can I regret his quitting a lesser good for a greater? Oh, if I did but believe, I could not be dejected; for I will not injure myself to say I offer my mind any inferior consolation to supply this loss. No, I most willingly forsake this world, this vexatious troublesome world, in which I have no other business but to rid my soul of sin; secure by faith and a good conscience my eternal interests; with patience and courage bear my eminent misfortune; and ever hereafter be above the smiles and frowns of fortune."

Her patience indeed was equal to her courage, and the sweetness of her temper perhaps superior to both. We meet not in her letters with any invective, or expression of complaint, even against those to whom the life of her Lord had been sacrificed, and she seems to have studiously avoided any intercourse with those of the faction which he had unhappily embraced. Her countenance and favour were however thought worth courting by the Prince of Orange, even in the commencement of his designs on the Crown of England. Dykevelt, his Plenipotentiary at the Court of London, had special orders upon his coming, in 1686, to wait on her; to condole with her on the death of her Lord; and to assure her that he offered these greetings, not in his private capacity, but as William's accredited minister. Soon after the revolution, as might have been with certainty expected, the highest favours were showered on her husband's family. The Earl, his father, was raised to the dignities of Marquis of Tavistock, and Duke of Bedford; her only son, then in his fifteenth year, to that of Baron Howland, of Streatham, in Surrey; and no pains were spared in attempting to atone for an injury which was interpreted to have arisen in a great measure from the affection of the sufferer to the cause of the new King.

Lady Russell had yet to encounter severe trials. Her only son, Wriothesley, who had succeeded his grandfather in the Dukedom, and was happily married, and generally beloved and respected, fell a sacrifice to a virulent small-pox in 1711, having barely passed his thirtieth year: the second of her two daughters, Catherine, Duchess of Rutland, died shortly after, in childbirth of her tenth child; and here we have another remarkable proof at once of the tenderness and the firmness of Lady Russell's character. Her eldest daughter, Rachael, Duchess of Devonshire, being at the same time confined on a similar occasion, and making anxious and importunate inquiries of her after the state of her sister's health, the incomparable parent replied, without a moment's hesitation—"Your sister is very well; I have this morning seen her out of bed;" and it was true, for she had seen her in her coffin.

Lady Russell died on the twenty-ninth of September, 1723, at the great age of eighty-seven, and was buried, with her Lord, in the family vault, at Chenies, in Bucks.



Engraved by W. T. Mote.

ROBERT HARLEY, EARL OF OXFORD.

OB. 1724.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF SIR GODFREY KNELLER, IN

THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

London, Published Aug. 1. 1834, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

ROBERT HARLEY,

EARL OF OXFORD AND MORTIMER.

This eminent statesman was descended from an ancient and honourable family, whose line, notwithstanding Bolingbroke's ill-natured assertion, that he "had never met with any illustration of it but in the vain discourses which Lord Oxford used to hold over claret," may be satisfactorily traced to a period anterior to the Norman conquest. Sir Edward Harley, of Brampton Bryan, in Herefordshire, the father of the subject of this memoir, a staunch Presbyterian, distinguished himself at an early period of the civil wars, and gained a high reputation for ability and gallantry. The same unbending principles that had led him to take up arms in support of a cause which, as he believed, involved the interests and freedom of his country, induced him to defy the power of Cromwell when the usurper's sway was established. In 1656, when serving as member for Herefordshire, his opposition provoked Cromwell's displeasure, who excluded him, with other members; whereupon he signed a remonstrance, in which he announced himself as one of those who "would not be frighted or flattered to betray their country, and give up their religion, lives, and estates, to be at the will or to serve the ambition of the Protector." On the restoration of Charles the Second, he was appointed governor of Dunkirk and Mardyck, then in danger of falling into the hands of the French; the subsequent disgraceful alienation of which possessions he earnestly strove to prevent.

Robert Harley, the eldest son of Sir Edward Harley, by his second wife, Abigail, daughter of Nathaniel Stephens, of Essington, in the county of Gloucester, was born in Bow Street, Covent-Garden, on the fifth of December, 1661. He was educated at a private school at Shilton, near Burford, in Oxfordshire, kept by the Rev. Mr. Birch, who had the singular merit or good fortune to reckon also among his pupils, Harcourt, afterwards Lord Chancellor, Trevor, who became Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and ten future members of the House of Commons, who had all been at the same time inmates of his house. On the arrival of the Prince of Orange, in 1688, Sir Edward Harley and his son, Robert, raised a cavalry troop, with which the latter marched, to tender his services to the Prince, and to assure him of the adherence of that part of the country which they influenced. His early destination appears to have been to the profession of the law, and we have it on the authority of Bolingbroke, that he was "bred in the inns of court." In the first Parliament after the accession of William and Mary to the throne, he was returned member for Tregony, in Cornwall, and in 1690 for Radnor, which seat he retained until he was raised to the peerage. That inordinate ambition which is said by his friends as well as by his foes to have been a distinguishing feature of his character did not permit him to rest satisfied with a private station. He had discovered considerable aptness for public business on several occasions; and it may be true that, not meeting with the preferment to which he thought his services and his talents entitled him, he determined to extort that distinction which the King did not appear disposed to confer upon him voluntarily. Burnet says "he was a man of great industry and application, and knew forms and the records of Parliament so well, that he was capable both of lengthening out and perplexing debates." His labours in the House of Commons sufficiently show that this reluctant praise was as little as he was entitled to; and the reputation which he acquired in that assembly proves the sense which there was entertained of his merit and talents. In 1693, he distinguished himself by exposing the corruptions which prevailed in the administration of the revenue, and proposed and carried a bill for abolishing some notorious abuses in the mode of paying the army, and for regulating the sums expended by the actual musters of effective men. He was appointed one of the arbitrators for uniting the two India Companies; and, in 1694, prepared a bill for triennial Parliaments, which was readily carried. While his services thus recommended him in the strongest manner to the House of Commons, his dexterity and sagacity enabled him to conciliate the good opinion and to gain the confidence of opposite parties in politics. His family connexions and the habits of his early life had ensured him the support of the Presbyterians, many of whom were Whigs: the High party, as the Tories were called in the language of that day, also confided in him, and the vigorous opposition he had displayed to the court confirmed their reliance upon him. In 1700, he was chosen Speaker of the House of Commons, Sir Thomas Lyttleton, his competitor, having withdrawn at the request of the King, who had intimated that it would be for his majesty's service that Harley should be elected. In the following year, although he was opposed by Sir Thomas Lyttleton, whom the King then openly favoured, he was elected to the same office, and again, in the first Parliament held in the reign of Queen Anne; thus occupying that distinguished post in three successive Parliaments.

In April, 1704, he first became a member of the administration, being sworn of the Queen's Privy Council; and in the May following, on a partial change in the administration, occasioned by the resignation of the Earl of Nottingham, he was appointed one of the principal Secretaries of State, retaining still his office of Speaker of the House of Commons. The ability which enabled him to discharge with credit and success the duties of such apparently discordant employments is alluded to in very flattering terms in the preamble to his patent of nobility, said to have proceeded from the pen of Swift, which recites, that these difficulties "were easily reconciled by one who knew how, with equal weight and address, to temper and turn the minds of men; so wisely to defend the rights of the people, without derogating from the prerogative of the crown; and who was thoroughly acquainted how well monarchy could consist with liberty." The state of politics at this period afforded him an opportunity for carrying into effect those aspiring projects which he had long been suspected of forming. The tyranny of the Whigs, the party then in power, had disgusted and subdued the Queen without terrifying her. Harley's attempts to gain their confidence had failed; and although they were compelled to act with him, they did not affect to conceal the doubts they entertained of his sincerity. One instance, among others, of the light in which he was viewed, and the manner in which he was treated by his colleagues, may be taken from the unpublished diary of Lord Cowper, then Lord Chancellor. "Sunday, January 6, 1705-6. I dined next day, on an invitation, with Secretary Harley; present the Duke of Marlborough, the Lord Treasurer (Lord Godolphin), Lord Halifax, Mr. Boyle, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. St. John, Lord Sunderland; and Lord Somers, I understood, had been invited, but did not come, being gone to his house in the country; but Secretary Harley said he had sent him a kind letter to excuse his absence. I believed, when I saw the company, this to be a meeting to reconcile Somers and Halifax with Harley, which was confirmed to me when, after the Lord Treasurer was gone (who first went), Secretary Harley took a glass, and drank 'to love and friendship, and everlasting union,' and wished he had more Tokay to drink it in (we had drunk two bottles, good, but thick). I replied, his white Lisbon was best to drink it in, being very clear. I suppose he apprehended it (as I observed most of the company did) to relate to that humour of his which was never to deal clearly or openly, but always with reserve, if not dissimulation, or simulation, and to love tricks, even where not necessary, but from an inward satisfaction he took in applauding his own cunning. If any man was ever born under the necessity of being a knave, he was." It must, however, be remembered that this is the painting of a determined enemy.

It cannot be doubted that Harley, so keen an observer of mankind, was aware of the dispositions and intentions of the men with whom he was associated; nor is it surprising that a person of his character should endeavour to supplant those who had so scorned his friendship. He was sure of the co-operation of at least a great portion of the Tories, and confident, even to daring, in his own powers. His Parliamentary reputation; the Queen's countenance, which he had gained, partly by his own exertions, and perhaps more by having secured the co-operation of Mrs. Masham, who had begun to rival the overbearing Duchess of Marlborough in the royal favour, ensured the success of his scheme; and the hopes of the Tories, which had hitherto been crushed under the superior influence of their opponents, began to revive. This gleam of prosperity was, however, but of short duration. The power of the Whig faction, though diminished, was not extinguished. Harley, who was justly deemed by them the main cause of the defeat they had sustained, was the object of their most bitter animosity, and an event soon happened which seemed to place within their reach the means of his destruction.

A needy Scotsman, one William Gregg, had been employed in an inferior situation in Harley's office. The negligence with which the state papers, and particularly the foreign correspondence, belonging to this department, were kept, had afforded this man the means of communicating intelligence to Monsieur Chamillard, the French King's minister, with whom his intercourse was discovered before he had received the promised reward of his treachery. He was tried and executed; but although endeavours were, it is said, made to induce him to accuse the Secretary, he was proof against this temptation, and, for once at least, evinced some honesty by delivering a written paper to the sheriffs, immediately before his execution, wherein he declared that Harley was wholly unacquainted with the treasonable practices in which he had been engaged. Thus baffled in their attempts to involve him in the punishment which this traitor had so well deserved, his opponents endeavoured to traduce his character and to destroy his reputation; and finding not only that these practices did not produce the intended effect, but that the Secretary's influence with the Queen was unshaken, the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Godolphin threatened to resign unless he should be displaced. The Queen, desirous to avoid a rupture with ministers, who did not scruple to assert that they had set her on the throne and kept the crown on her head, endeavoured in vain to pacify them; and at length, finding herself in danger of being deserted, complied with their demands. Harley was compelled to resign in February, 1707-8; his friends chose to share in this undeserved disgrace, and once more the administration fell into the hands of the Whigs.

Harley's parliamentary credit was, however, unimpaired by this triumph of his enemies; and the Queen, although she was deprived of his services as a minister, continued to bestow upon him, in private, marks of her regard and confidence; frequently consulting him upon political measures, and never, as it is said, undertaking any matter of importance without his advice. It was in this false position to which the malice of his enemies had reduced him that Harley, instigated at once by his ambition and his thirst for retaliation, resorted with indefatigable energy to those practices which have cast a deep stain on his moral character. It is obviously impossible for any man to engage in such secret intrigues as were then carried on with safety either to his honour or his happiness. At length, however, he triumphed. The domination of the Whigs reached a point beyond the Queen's power of endurance. The refusal of the Duke of Marlborough to promote Mrs. Masham's brother at the Queen's request led to a quarrel, which was so much inflamed by the instigations of the Duchess on the one side, and the intrigues of the new favourite, aided by the secret but powerful influence of Harley on the other, that it led to the dismissal of the Duke, the dispersion of the administration of which he was the head, and the establishment of Harley as the principal member of a high Tory cabinet. Lord Godolphin resigned his post of Lord Treasurer; the office was put into commission under Harley's direction, who undertook at the same time the arduous duties of Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The finances of the country, then in a state of ruinous depression, engaged his first attention. Either unable to comprehend the subject which the mal-administration of former governments had made one of uncommon difficulty, or resolving to pacify for a time, at whatever cost or hazard, the clamorous demands of the public creditors, he resorted to expedients which, however well calculated to produce present relief, were not of a nature to cure the evils that had been engendered by the existing system. He brought into operation that measure for securing a trade to the South Seas which, although it enjoyed a short-lived popularity, ended by impairing the national credit and bringing irretrievable ruin upon the individuals who were induced to engage in the captivating pursuits which it encouraged. He copied, too, from the French the pernicious scheme of state lotteries, and persisted in establishing them, notwithstanding the remonstrances of men who were sufficiently enlightened and virtuous to perceive and denounce the mischiefs to which they must necessarily give rise.

The moderation he had displayed from the time of his accession to the greatest power with which any subject can be invested in this country, had not satisfied the more violent of those political partisans with whom he was the most intimately connected. The high Tories began to mutter reproaches against what they called his lukewarmness, when an accident, which put his life in imminent peril, at once restored him to their favour. A French adventurer, named Guiscard, who, having failed in his attempts to excite insurrections in France, had become a spy in this country, and was in the receipt of a pension of four hundred pounds a year from the English government, was dissatisfied with this reward of his nefarious services, and pestered the Queen with applications for an increase of his stipend. His endeavours being unsuccessful, he attributed his disappointment to St. John, of whose riotous pleasures he had formerly been the associate, and to Harley, who distrusted and who did not attempt to conceal his aversion for him. In the anger which these disappointments excited, he attempted to reconcile himself with the Court of France, and in pursuit of this project addressed a letter to a French banker, in which he offered his services to the country he had already betrayed. This letter, which was intercepted, contained the most convincing proofs of his treachery. He was consequently apprehended, upon a warrant from the Secretary of State, and carried before the Privy Council for examination. While he was waiting in an outer chamber, he contrived to secrete a knife lying on a table there. On being introduced to the council, he behaved with great effrontery, and strenuously denied the charges which were brought against him. Harley then produced the intercepted letter, at the sight of which Guiscard's confidence forsook him, and, declining to answer the questions put to him, he begged leave to communicate with St. John, a request which gave rise to the suspicion that the Secretary at War was the object of his vengeance. This being refused, and St. John being out of his reach, he approached Harley, and before his design could be perceived stabbed him twice in the breast with the knife which he had kept concealed. At the second blow the minister fell. The council rose in alarm and confusion. St. John and some others drew their swords and attacked the assassin, who made a desperate defence and was severely wounded. He was taken to Newgate, where he died a few days afterwards, having first expressed his contrition for the crime he had committed, and insinuated that his design had been against the life of some other person than Harley, whom he said he had always found a man of honour. Little importance can, however, be attached to the statements of such a person under any circumstances, and still less at the period referred to, when he was suffering extreme anguish, and almost in the agony of death.

The danger in which this attempt had placed his life dispelled all the suspicions which Harley's half-friends had begun to entertain, and to which his enemies took care to give all possible weight. Both houses of Parliament concurred in an address to Her Majesty, ascribing the attack which had been made upon the Premier to the hatred conceived by the abettors of popery and faction against one who had displayed so much fidelity and zeal in her service. His wounds confined him to his house for seven weeks. On his re-appearance in the House of Commons he was congratulated by the Speaker, in obedience to a resolution of the House, upon his recovery, in highly complimentary terms; and it was this incident which gave occasion to the passing a statute which declared any attempt upon the life of a Privy Councillor to be felony without benefit of clergy. The Earl of Rochester dying at about this time, Mr. Harley became the head of the ministry, and was raised to the peerage on the twenty-fourth of May, 1711, by the title of Baron Harley, of Wigmore, in the county of Hereford, Earl of Oxford and Mortimer. On the twenty-ninth of the same month he was appointed Lord High Treasurer of the realm.

He had now achieved the grand object of his ambition. For some few years all went prosperously with him, and as smoothly as is consistent with the condition of greatness. The machinations of the Whigs were as active and incessant as their hatred was implacable, but their power was now so effectually lessened that they had ceased to be formidable. He solaced his leisure with the pursuits of literature, the encouragement of learning, and the society of men of wit and talent, reckoning among his intimate friends some of those whose names form the proudest boasts of British genius,—Pope, Swift, Gay, and Prior.

The peace of Utrecht, a measure of profound though questionable policy, engaged his most earnest attention, and he accomplished it by dint of an energetic determination, which, if not the first, is one of the most indispensable qualities for a statesman. No sooner were the foreign relations of the country tranquillised, than dissensions arose between the minister and his colleagues which demolished the power that had braved the wildest storms of faction. Bolingbroke, who believed that his brilliant talents were overshadowed by the loftier station of his compeer, engaged in an intrigue for the purpose of displacing him. Lord Oxford had incurred the enmity of Mrs. Masham by attempting to check her cupidity. Bolingbroke contrived to render the disgust which the favourite had conceived instrumental to his own plans, and to insinuate himself into the confidence of the Queen, who, never a strong-minded woman, was now beginning to sink under bodily infirmities. She endeavoured to accommodate the dissensions which had broken out between her ministers, but her authority was not enough to compel them to observe even an appearance of cordiality. Constant disputes, which sometimes descended to bitter altercation, between the Treasurer and the Secretary, disgraced the council-board, and insulted the Queen's presence; and it was immediately after one of these painful scenes that, on the twenty-seventh of July, 1714, Lord Oxford was deprived of all his employments. The anxiety and embarrassment which this sudden change in her councils occasioned to the Queen is said to have hastened her death, which happened on the first of August following.

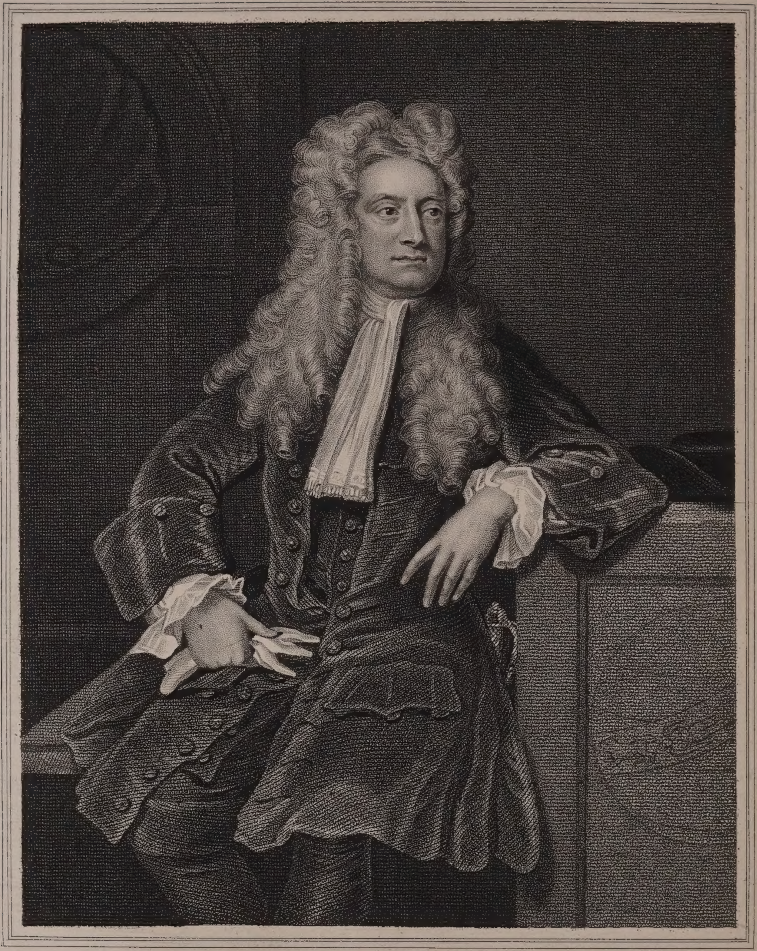
The accession of George the First brought discomfiture to the party which still recognized Oxford as its leader. On going to pay his respects to the new monarch, he was received with marked indifference. But his enemies were not satisfied with having extinguished his power. On the tenth of June, in the following year, after Bolingbroke had been impeached in the House of Lords, Lord Coningsby, declaring that Bolingbroke's offences, whatever they were, fell short of those of which Lord Oxford had been guilty, charged him with high treason, and other crimes and misdemeanours. Articles of impeachment were afterwards exhibited against him in the House of Lords, to which the Commons added other charges. A debate ensued upon the reading them in the Lords, and some of the most eminent lawyers declared that, if substantiated, they did not amount to high treason. Party spirit, however, ran so high, that it was in vain to avow, and even dangerous to maintain this opinion. Lord Oxford defended himself with great spirit and good sense; but the majority being against him, he was committed to his own house in the custody of the Black Rod. So mild a proceeding, to which they had been induced solely upon the suggestion that he was suffering from an agonising and dangerous malady, was, however, soon recalled by the House of Peers; and, in spite of the remonstrances of his physician, he was committed to the Tower, on the sixteenth of July. His popularity, however, was so great, that extraordinary measures were resorted to for the purpose of checking the public discontent to which this prosecution gave rise. He remained in confinement from the sixteenth of July, 1715, to the first of July, 1717, when he was brought to trial. A frivolous quarrel, however, ensued between the two Houses of Parliament upon the point whether the charge of high treason should be first proceeded in, or whether the articles should be discussed *seriatim*. The Lords inclined to the former opinion; the Commons insisted on pursuing the latter course; and neither party choosing to yield, this dispute was made a pretext for suffering the whole charge to drop, and the Earl was consequently acquitted.

After this event, he retired wholly from public business, and devoted the few remaining years of his life to pursuits which, though less exciting than those which had occupied the greater portion of his days, were better suited to one who like him had become experimentally acquainted with the utter hollowness and vanity of "the great world."

A fondness for books was a feeling which had distinguished several of his ancestors. As early as the year 1705, his collection had become very considerable. The vigour which he threw into every pursuit that engaged his attention, together with the means afforded by his ample fortune and his station, enabled him to engage the assistance of a great number of distinguished men at home and abroad who were best qualified to perfect the design he had conceived of forming that magnificent library of rare and valuable manuscripts in every department of literature now known by the name of the Harleian collection, and acknowledged to be one of our richest national treasures. It was arranged under the care of the capable and zealous Humphrey Wanley, who has chronicled the death of the subject of this memoir by a note, written in a spare leaf of one of the manuscripts, in these terms:—"21st May, 1724. To-day, about ten of the clock, it pleased Almighty God to call to his mercy, out of this troublesome world, the Right Honourable Robert Earl of Oxford, the founder of this library, who had long been to me a munificent patron, and my most kind and gracious lord and master."

Lord Oxford was twice married: first to Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Foley, of Witley Court, Worcestershire, by whom he had one son, Edward, who succeeded him; and two daughters, Abigail, who married George Hay, Earl of Kinnoul, and Elizabeth, who married the Marquis of Carmarthen, afterwards Duke of Leeds. By his second wife, Sarah, daughter of Thomas Myddleton, Esq., he had no issue.

The spirit of party, which cast so strong a colour over the times in which he lived, has so tinged the opinions expressed of this nobleman by his contemporaries, as to render the testimony of men, otherwise best calculated to estimate his character, almost wholly inadmissible. It would be equally incorrect to adopt the too partial encomiums of Pope, or the acrimonious invectives of Bolingbroke. Steele, who was his avowed enemy, but who was actuated in all he did by a love of truth, and the feelings of a gentleman, has the following passage in a letter addressed to Lord Oxford in 1719, where, after alluding to his former attacks on the minister, he says "I transgressed, my lord, against you when you could make twelve peers in a day—I ask your pardon when you are a private nobleman; and, as I told you when I resigned the Stamp Office, I wished you all prosperity consistent with the public good, so now I congratulate you on the pleasure you must needs have in looking back upon the true fortitude with which you have passed through the dangers arising from the rage of the people and the envy of the rest of the world. If to have judged rightly of men's passions and prejudices, vices and virtues, interests and inclinations, and to have waited with skill and courage for proper seasons and incidents to make use of them, can administer pleasure to a man of sense and spirit, your lordship has abundant cause of satisfaction." The main character of his policy may be said to have been moderation. He was a faithful servant to the Crown, a friend to rational liberty, an enemy to persecution in all its forms; but his best renown is to be derived from that source which during his life constituted his greatest happiness, his love of letters, and the liberal encouragement he extended to human genius.



Engraved by W. T. Fry.

SIR ISAAC NEWTON.

OB. 1727.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF KNELLER, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HONBLE THE EARL OF EGREMONT.

London, Published Decr 1, 1831; by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

SIR ISAAC NEWTON.

To treat of the Lives of Commanders without speaking of their battles, of Statesmen without referring to their political plans, or of Authors without enumerating their works, would be not less absurd than unjust. The advantages derived from their labours are usually reaped in selfish silence by their contemporaries; the sphere of their action is more or less circumscribed; and their fame would generally expire with themselves, but for the records of history and biography. The wonderful man of whom we are here very briefly to treat was not one of these. He lived, and thought, and wrote, for the whole world, and entailed the glorious results of his studies on all mankind for ever. So familiar are they to us, that to proclaim them once more would be as ridiculous as to insist seriously that we owe daylight to the sun. Nothing therefore that can be avoided will be said of them in the ensuing sketch: but, as in the boundless celebration of the philosopher the man has been nearly overlooked, it shall be confined to the ordinary circumstances of his private life.

He was the only child of Isaac Newton, of Woolstrope, in Lincolnshire, a small manor estate, which had been possessed by his ancestors for nearly two centuries, by Hannah, daughter of James Ayscough, a respectable private gentleman, of Market Overton, in the county of Rutland. His father died three months before his birth, which was on Christmas day, 1642; and his mother remarried in his infancy to the Rev. Barnabas Smith, rector of Northwitham, a neighbouring parish to Woolstrope. She seems however to have fulfilled her parental duties to him, at least without cause of reproach, for, previously to her second marriage, she settled some small landed property on him, though she appears to have entertained no further views for him than to qualify him for the prudent management of that, and the rest of his father's moderate estate, when it might come into his possession. He was kept at little day-schools near her residence till the age of twelve, when he was placed, apparently but for a short time, in a school of good reputation at Grantham, for we find him soon after that period buried in the superintendance of her farming concerns, and in buying and selling corn in the market of that town. He discovered however then a surprising fondness for mechanical invention, with a proportionate ingenuity in the exercise of it, and read desultorily, but indefatigably, and with intense attention. Thus he lived till he had passed the age of seventeen, when his mother, who could not but have reflected that a proper cultivation of such dispositions would probably lead to far more important advantages than could be expected to attend the life of what is now called a gentleman farmer, sent him again, for nearly a year, to Grantham school, and then to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he was admitted on the fifth of June, 1660.

The study of Mathematics had not then been long received into the general system of education in our Universities, and had not yet become popular among the students. Newton is said to have first turned seriously to it in the view of ascertaining whether the science, or rather theory, of judicial astrology, had any foundation in truth. He was immediately enraptured by it, and felt like one who had discovered a new world. His progress presently became astonishing, and he was courted by all the first mathematicians of the University, with the celebrated Isaac Barrow, who was a fellow of his college, and soon after became mathematical professor, at their head, and who immediately formed an intimacy with him that soon improved into a strict friendship. As he proceeded, he gradually discovered the errors of the hypothetical philosophy of Des Cartes, which was at that time in high esteem at Cambridge, and had, even in his youth, the acknowledged merit of having refuted many of them.

SIR ISAAC NEWTON.

In 1664 he took his degree of Bachelor, and in 1668 that of Master of Arts, having in the preceding year been chosen a fellow of his college, as he was in the following professor of mathematics, on the resignation of Dr. Barrow, and in 1671 he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society. More than fifteen years were now passed in the prosecution of the most profound philosophical speculations, particularly in establishing his celebrated system of the nature and properties of light and colours, his gradual discoveries in which he unfolded in his lectures for the first three years of his occupation of the professor's chair, confining them almost exclusively to that delightful subject. These, after having spent five years more chiefly in the critical completion of his design, he meditated to commit to the press, when he was prevented for the time by the prospect of opposition from some who seemed determined to cherish their errors, and to draw him into a controversy for which he had neither time nor inclination. So far did his modesty and love of peace exceed his desire of fame, that he seems even to have regretted his having ever engaged in a pursuit which had experienced such signal success, if it were to be followed by contest. "I blamed my own imprudence," said he, adverting to this subject in a letter written some time after, "for parting with so substantial a blessing as my quiet, to run after a shadow." And in another, of later date, he says, "Philosophy is such a litigious lady, that a man had as good be engaged in law suits as to have to do with her."

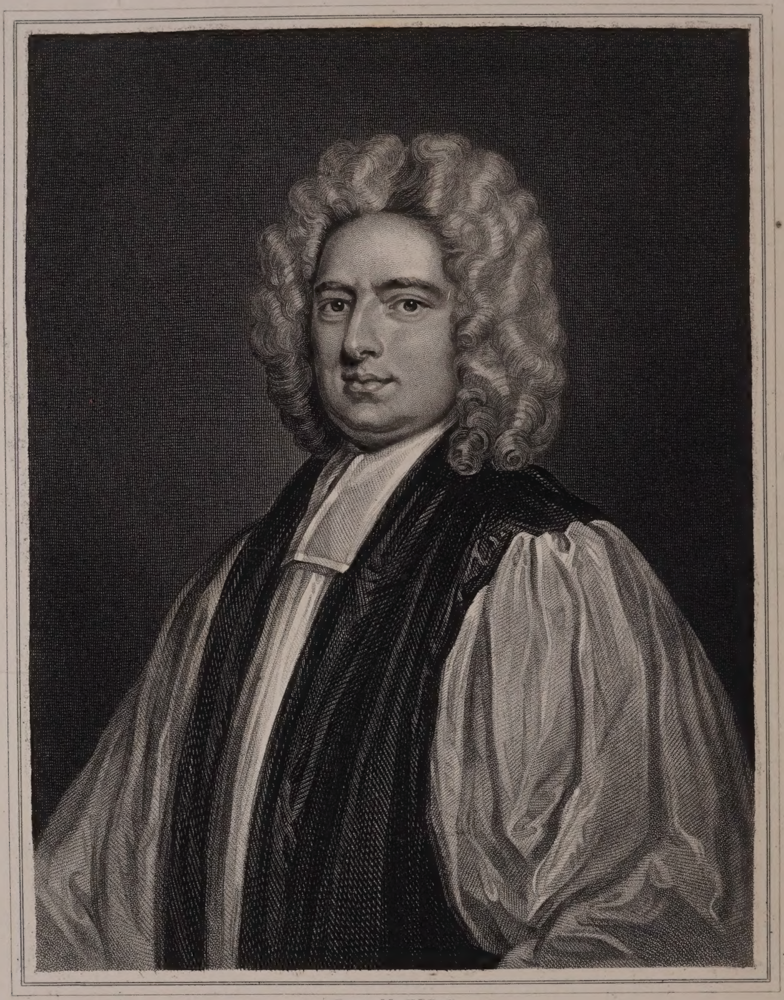
Immersed as he was in study, he could readily divert his attention to affairs sufficiently important to claim it. In 1687, the University of Cambridge, in which he was as much admired and respected for his moral qualities as for his talents, chose him one of the delegates then appointed to state to James's High Commission Court the reasons for its refusal to admit Father Francis master of arts upon the King's mandamus, without taking the oaths ordained by the statutes; and is said not only to have been mainly instrumental in persuading his colleagues to persist in the maintenance of their privileges on that occasion, but to have induced James, by the firmness and ingenuity of his own particular arguments, to abandon his absurd and unjust purpose. He received from the University in the succeeding year a testimony yet stronger of its esteem, for he was elected to represent it in the Convention Parliament, as he was again in that of 1701. This material change of station, joined perhaps to that inclination in government to patronize science and literature which was not yet extinct, procured for him the unsought favour of ministers, even in the reign of William. He received in 1696 a letter from Mr. Montagu, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and afterwards Earl of Halifax, to say that the King had been prevailed on to give him the place of Warden of the Mint, an appointment the emoluments of which were five or six hundred pounds annually, and to this intimation was added a civil remark that "its duties would not require more attendance than he could spare." He accepted it, and was eminently useful in the great affair of the re-coinage which just at that time took place. Three years after, he was placed at the head of that establishment, in the station of Master and Worker, an office of much larger profit, as well as trust; and now, finding it difficult to fulfil the duties of his professorship at Cambridge, he appointed Mr. Whiston his deputy, relinquishing to him the whole salary, and so nominally retained it till the year 1703, in which he was elected President of the Royal Society, whose chair he continued to occupy for the rest of his life. On the sixteenth of April, 1705, Queen Anne knighted him at Trinity College.

His public engagements by no means diverted his attention materially from his philosophical pursuits. He had, in the preceding year, perfected and at length published the admirable series of his optical discoveries, in "a Treatise of the reflections, refractions, inflections, and colours, of Light;" which is more especially mentioned here because it seems to have been of all the surprising fruits of his invention his chief favourite. Indeed it was after this date that he revised and printed most of his works. He became engaged too, in spite of his utmost care to avoid them, in several controversies, particularly in one with the celebrated Leibnitz, which, as Leibnitz was a Hanoverian, and a public officer of the Electorate, in the reign of George the first, somewhat excited the attention of that Prince and his family. The Princess of Wales, who always professed a great regard for learning, and learned men, sent for Newton to talk with him on the matter of their dispute, and, for the remainder of his life, frequently commanded his attendance; and was fond of declaring to her courtiers that "she thought herself happy in coming into the world at a juncture of time which put it into her power to converse with him." The Prince, afterwards George the second, was frequently present at these interviews, and treated him with much distinction. Newton became as familiar with royalty as a due decorum could permit.

Such, separated from the results of that power of intellect which distinguished him from all the rest of mankind, and so few and simple, were the circumstances of Sir Isaac Newton's life, which was protracted in health and vigour, unimpaired by the severity of his studies, to his eighty-fifth year. He died, unmarried, at his house in St. Martin's Street, on the twentieth of March, 1727, and had a public funeral in Westminster Abbey. He never made a will, and it was a favourite maxim with him, that "they who gave nothing till they died never gave." He bestowed accordingly considerable sums on his relations during his life, and his charities to others were nobly extensive; yet he is said to have left thirty-two thousand pounds, which fell to the issue of his mother's second marriage.

The beauties of his moral character were, if possible, more admirable than the powers of his mind, and his piety was not less genuine than his philosophy. Fontenelle has pourtrayed him with truth and justice, decorated, but not disguised, by the usual fervour of an academician; and at home, it is difficult to select from the number, and the variety of eulogies which embalm his memory. They have been thus summed up by a modern writer, with a modesty and simplicity well applied to a subject in whom those qualities were eminently conspicuous—“ His whole life was one continued series of labour, patience, charity, generosity, temperance, piety, goodness, and every other virtue, without a mixture of any known vice whatsoever.” To these testimonies of his private worth let us add the miniature of the whole man, as it is depicted in his epitaph.

H. S. E.
Isaacus Newton, Eques Auratus,
Qui animi vi prope divina
Cometarum semitas, Oceanique æstus,
Planetarum motus, figuras,
Sua mathesi facem præferente,
Primus demonstravit.
Radiorum lucis dissimilitudines,
Colorumque inde nascentium proprietates,
Quas nemo antea vel suspicatus erat, pervestigavit.
Naturæ, Antiquitatis, S. Scripturæ,
Sedulus, sagax, fidus interpres,
Dei Opt. Max. majestatem philosophia asseruit,
Evangelii simplicitatem moribus expressit.
Sibi gratulentur mortales, tale tantumque extitisse
Humani generis decus.



Engraved by H.T. Ryall.

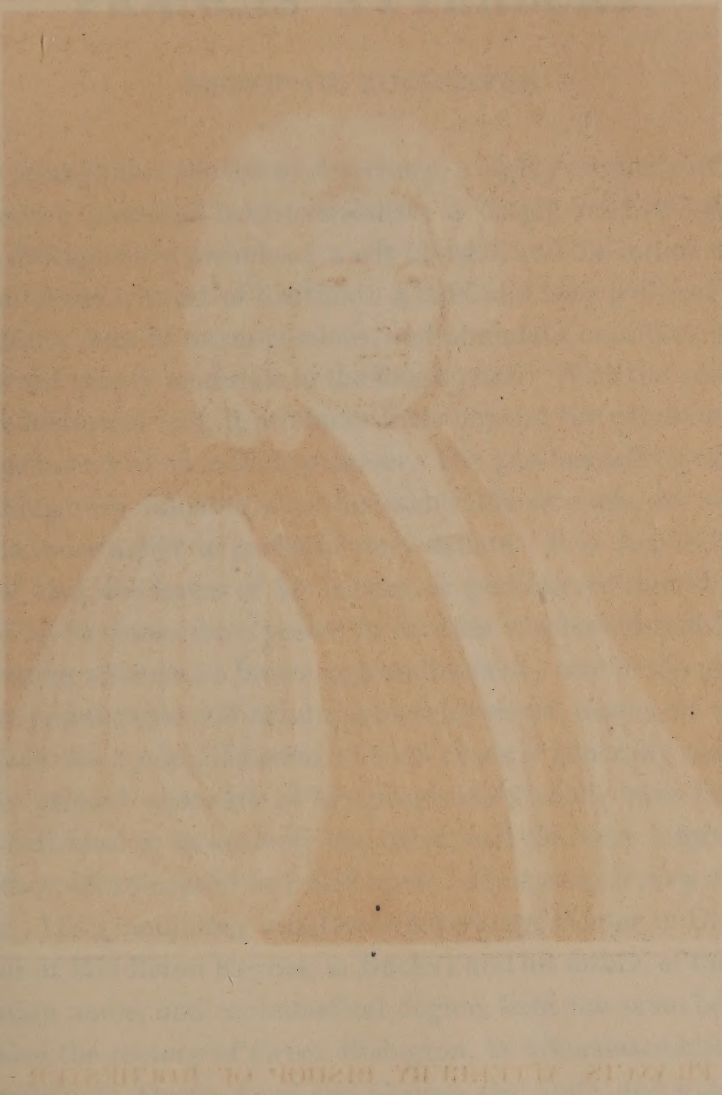
FRANCIS ATTERBURY, BISHOP OF ROCHESTER.

OB. 1732.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF KNELLER, IN THE

BODLEIAN GALLERY, OXFORD.

London, Published Nov^{r} 1.1835; by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.



FRANCIS ATTERBURY,

BISHOP OF ROCHESTER.

It is strange that the life of Atterbury, a highly erudite and polite scholar; a powerful controversialist; a deeply read divine, and most distinguished preacher; a wit himself, and the intimate companion of the wittiest of his time; a bold and busy political partizan, and a man of warm passions, and abundant ambition, should afford but scanty materials to the biographer. With the exception of one historical fact, it produces little beyond the common-place circumstances of an ordinary career. His pen has left us scarcely any thing very valuable, save his admirable sermons, nor was his tongue more active in parliamentary debate. It is then to be suspected that the hours of his leisure, or perhaps we should rather say of his business, were passed in reveries of splendid selfishness; in devising schemes of future aggrandisement; and in the practice of the innumerable and minute, generally secret, means, by the aid of which the accomplishment of such views is generally sought.

The printed accounts of his progenitors which have hitherto been delivered to us are very imperfect, and the little information that they afford cannot be relied upon. He sprung from a clerical stock. His grandfather was Lewis Atterbury, Doctor in Divinity, Rector of Middleton Keynes, in Bucks; and his father, of the same Christian name, and ecclesiastical degree, held the same benefice, and also the rectory of Great Risington, in Gloucestershire; was a chaplain to Queen Anne and George the first; and somewhat distinguished in his time by some polemical writings. This gentleman married Elizabeth, daughter of Francis Giffard, of North Crawley, in the county of Buckingham, and the subject of the present sketch was their second son, who was born on the sixth of March, 1661-2.

He was admitted, in 1676, a King's scholar, at Westminster school, and elected, in 1680, a student of Christ Church, in Oxford, where he studied under the eminent Doctor, afterwards Bishop, Fell. He soon became distinguished there, not less by his wit than by his learning, and in 1682 gave a promising proof of both, in the publication of a Latin version of Dryden's "Absalom and Achitophel," in which his taste was distinguished by the happiest junction of freedom and fidelity. Two years afterwards he was the editor of the "Anthologia, seu selecta quædam poematum Italorum qui Latine scripserunt," his preface to which has always secured the esteem of the best judges, and now took his degree of Bachelor of Arts, as he did in 1687 that of Master. In that year his reputation dawned as a controversial writer, in the publication of "An Answer to some considerations on the spirit of Martin Luther, and the original of the Reformation," printed, under a feigned name, by Obadiah Walker, in which answer he defended the Protestant faith with such learning, force, and vivacity, as to call forth the recorded praise of Bishop Burnet, afterwards his bitter enemy. He laboured at this period with almost incredible application, not less in the study of mathematics and polite literature than of divinity, and yet found time, not only for the enjoyment of frequent social intercourse with the most eminent ornaments at that time of the University, but for the composition of many desultory poems, and poetical translations, of which such as remain are pregnant with evidence, as well of his refined taste as of his sparkling wit.

His haughty and aspiring spirit became however, about 1690, impatient of the uniformity and simplicity of a college life, and he complained heavily to his father, as we collect from a late publication of many of his letters, of the servility of seeking for pupils, and the irksomeness of being "pinned down," as he says it is "his hard luck to be, to a nauseous circle of small affairs." The father's answer is extremely amusing: after having reproved his son for the arrogance of his pretensions, he advises him to marry into some family of wealth and interest—" a Bishop's, or Archbishop's, or some courtier's, which may be done, with accomplishments, and a portion too." Atterbury lost no time in profiting by this prudent advice, and, shortly after, married a young lady of the name of Catherine Osborne, very beautiful, with a fortune, considerable in those days, of seven thousand pounds, and always, most erroneously, stated to have been a niece, or other very near relation, to the first Duke of Leeds. He now shook off the shackles of a college life, took holy orders, and transferred his residence to the metropolis, and, at the particular recommendation of Compton, Bishop of London, was in 1691 elected lecturer of St. Bride's, and, soon after, minister of Bridewell chapel. His fame as a preacher, for which duty he possessed every qualification, even those of a most commanding and graceful person and countenance, now spread with a rapidity that presently carried it to the Court. He was appointed a chaplain to William and Mary, probably early in 1692, for the first of his published sermons was preached before the Queen, at Whitehall, on the 29th of May in that year.

The reputation which had thus rendered him conspicuous, and the emulation which it excited in his professional brethren, of course laid him open to occasional critical attacks. In a sermon which he preached in August, 1694, before the governors of Bridewell and Bethlehem hospitals, " on the power of charity to cover sins," the warmth and force with which he asserted the merit of good works were thought by some to trench rudely on the orthodox confidence in that of sincere faith. Hoadley, then a rising candidate for the fame and promotion which he afterwards acquired, entered the lists with him, and a short skirmish ensued, which however was the signal for a desultory warfare between these divines on different matters for some years. In the October following he was briskly attacked also, by an anonymous writer, on certain passages in a sermon, before the Queen—" The Scorner incapable of true Wisdom." Nothing could have been more welcome to him than these opportunities of controversy, his appetite to which was equal to his skill in the management of it, and his general anxiety to signalize himself superior to either. He now engaged in the contest between Mr. Boyle, who had been his pupil at Christ Church, and Dr. Bentley, on the subject of the Epistles of Phalaris, altogether unworthy in themselves, but of value for having been the means of provoking the wit and satire which, on the part of Boyle, ornamented the dispute, and for which he is now known to have been chiefly indebted to the pen of Atterbury. It was just about this time that he was appointed by Sir John Trevor, Master of the Rolls, preacher at the chapel attached to that office.

A topic of immediate practical interest now called him into debate. Among the important novelties introduced by the revolution, arose a fashion of questioning the ecclesiastical powers of the Crown, and of asserting an almost independent authority in convocations. This, of course, divided the great body of the clergy into two parties, which about that time received the appellations of High and Low Churchmen. Atterbury was the chief champion for the former class; and, in the year 1700, entered into a contest with Dr. Wake, afterwards Primate, which lasted, with few intermissions, for four years, and in reference to which Bishop Burnet tells us, in his memoirs of that year, that some books were written "with great acrimony of style, and a strain of insolence that was peculiar to one Atterbury, who had indeed very good parts, great learning, and was an excellent preacher, and had many extraordinary things in him, but was both ambitious and virulent out of measure; and had a singular talent of asserting paradoxes, with a great air of assurance, showing no shame when he was detected in them, though this was done in many instances; but he let all these pass, without either confessing his errors, or pretending to justify himself: he went on, still venting new falsehoods, in so barefaced a manner that he seemed to have outdone the jesuits themselves."

It is probable that this character, though given by an adversary of no very gentle nature, is little exaggerated. Atterbury however gained in this warfare a mighty reputation with the tories; received the thanks of the Lower House of Convocation, and the degree of Doctor in Divinity from the University of Oxford, by diploma, without the usual forms or fees. In the meantime the matter was taken up seriously by the heads of the other party; the judges held a consultation upon it, as an impeachment of the royal prerogative, and endeavours were vainly used to injure him in the opinion of the King, who perhaps secretly approved of his conduct; at all events, passed it over silently. Indeed, during the utmost heat of the contest, we find him waiting on the King, at Kensington, and received with all possible grace. Queen Anne, on her accession, appointed him one of her chaplains in ordinary, and in July, 1704, Dean of Carlisle, and immediately after, Bishop Trelawny, then of Exeter, his constant friend, gave him a canonry of that church. In the same year he, who so frequently had crowned heads for his auditors, and occasionally charmed the House of Commons by his eloquence in the pulpit, condescended to accept the year's office of chaplain to a Lord Mayor; a pregnant proof that notoriety and admiration, from whatever source they might arise, were always welcome to him, and that no prospect of future advantage, however distant and obscure, was in his sight wholly insignificant.

The flame that had been long kindling between Atterbury and Hoadley at length burst forth in 1706, and blazed, with little intermission, for four years. To state in the most cursory way the subjects of this wordy war, even to enumerate the very weapons used in it, would occupy more space than the limits of this sketch could afford. Let two small specimens of them, and of the mode in which the combatants commonly used them, suffice—Atterbury in a pamphlet on his favourite topic, the Convocation, published in 1709, charges "the modest and moderate Mr. Hoadley," as he tauntingly calls him, with "treating the body of the established clergy with language more disdainful and reviling than it would have become him to have used towards a presbyterian antagonist, upon any provocation; charging them with rebellion in the church, while he was preaching it up in the state." Hoadley, in repelling this attack, accuses Atterbury of carrying on two different causes upon two sets of contradictory principles, in order to gain himself applause amongst the same persons, at the same time, by standing up for and against liberty; by depressing the prerogative, and exalting it; by lessening the executive power, and magnifying it; by loading some with all infamy for pleading for submission to it in one particular, which he supposeth an encroachment, and by loading others with the same infamy for pleading against submission to it, in cases which touch the happiness of the whole community. "This," says Hoadley, "is a method of controversy so peculiar to one person" (meaning Atterbury) "that I know not that it hath ever been practised or attempted by any other writer."

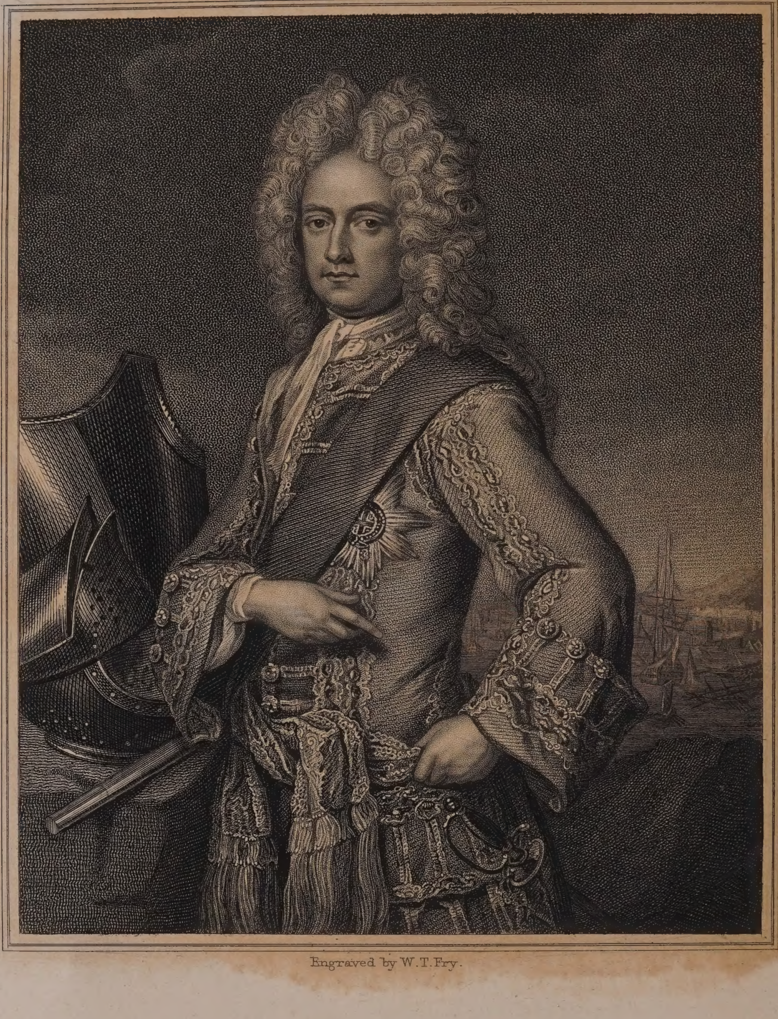
In 1710, his heated and busy spirit was amply and delightfully occupied in espousing the cause of Dr. Sacheverell, whose remarkable speech on his trial was universally believed to have been the work of Atterbury's pen. A few months after, he was still more gratified by being unanimously elected Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation, and that assembly fell, as it were instantly, under his sole government and direction. The Queen, whose affection to the Church, that is to say the High Church, is well known, came into all his measures regarding it, and he had also, according to Burnet, the confidence of the chief minister, and of these he was not long without a substantial proof, for in 1712 he was made Dean of Christ Church, in opposition to most powerful interest which was made in favour of his competitor, and, it is to be regretted, earnest friend, Dr., afterwards Bishop, Smallridge. "No sooner was he settled there," says Stackhouse (his opponent in party, both as to Church and State, but an honest man) "no sooner was he settled, than all ran into disorder and confusion. The canons had been long accustomed to the mild and gentle government of a Dean who had every thing in him endearing to mankind, and could not therefore brook the wide difference that they perceived in Dr. Atterbury. That imperious and despotic manner in which he seemed resolved to carry every thing made them more tenacious of their rights, and inclinable to make fewer concessions the more he endeavoured to grasp at power, and to tyrannize," &c. They were relieved from this haughty ruler in the summer of the succeeding year, when Atterbury had the yet better fortune to be promoted, at the recommendation, as is said, of the Lord Chancellor Harcourt, to the Bishopric of Rochester, and Deanery of Westminster. He was consecrated at Lambeth on the fifth of July, 1713.

His elevation was but the signal for his fall. The Queen died in the ensuing summer, and a total change of ministers and measures immediately followed. Atterbury presently received an affront from the new Prince, so harsh and so gratuitous as to make it evident that it could have no other motive than to prove to him that he was to expect no degree of favour. It is customary after a Coronation for the Dean of Westminster to present to the Sovereign the canopy and chair of state used by him on that occasion, which are the Dean's perquisites. He offered them to George the First accordingly, and, for the first time in the annals of Coronations, they were refused. Atterbury's haughty spirit instantly took fire; and he, whose affection to the succession of the House of Hanover was already, at the best, but doubtful, seems from that hour to have become one of its most determined enemies. He threw himself openly into the society of that class; was more than suspected of writing a most inflammatory pamphlet which was privately circulated, and denounced by royal proclamation a malicious and traitorous libel; refused, in 1715, to sign the "Declaration of the Bishops," testifying their abhorrence of the rebellion then raging; and constantly opposed in the House of Lords all the measures of the Crown and its ministers, and drew up most of the furious protests so common there in the first Parliament of the reign.

An interval of considerable length however followed, in which we find him apparently confining himself to his professional offices; delivering visitation charges; performing his duties at Westminster; distinguishing himself in his correspondence with Pope, Prior, and other men of genius of his time; occasionally employing his pen in the composition of some scriptural tracts; and paying exemplary attention to his wife, in a tedious and hopeless illness, of which she died in 1721. On the fourth of August, however, in the following year, he was arrested, at the Deanery house in Westminster, committed to the Tower, and charged, under the report of a secret Committee of the House of Commons, with carrying on a traitorous correspondence, in order to raise an insurrection in the kingdom, and to procure foreign Princes to invade it; and, in support of the accusation, three letters were produced, assumed to have heen written by him, under feigned names, to General Dillon, to the Earl of Mar, and to the Pretender himself. After much time passed in the usual forms of a parliamentary impeachment, and in debates of considerable interest in both Houses, on the sixteenth of May, 1723, the Peers passed a bill, by a majority of eighty-three to forty-three, depriving him of all his offices, dignities, and benefices, and sentencing him to perpetual exile.

On the eighteenth of June he embarked for Calais, where he found Lord Bolingbroke, who had just received the King's pardon, on his return to England, on which Atterbury jocularly remarked —" Then I am exchanged." He intended to have settled at Brussels, but was obliged to remove from thence by the management of the British ministers, who in other matters also used an ungenerous resentment towards him after the execution of his sentence. He went then to Paris, where, as has been since proved by a publication of his correspondence, he certainly engaged himself in the active service of the Pretender. He removed in 1728 to Montpelier, to avoid the suspicion of that connection, but returned to Paris shortly before his death, which occurred on the fifteenth of February, 1731-2. His corpse was brought to England, and interred in Westminster Abbey.

Bishop Atterbury had issue by his lady, of whom we have already spoken, one son and two daughters: the Rev. Osborne Atterbury, Rector of Oxhill, in Warwickshire, whose descendants are settled in Ireland; Elizabeth, who died unmarried, and Mary, wife of William Morrice, high bailiff of Westminster.



Engraved by W. T. Fry.

CHARLES MORDAUNT, EARL OF PETERBOROUGH.

OB. 1735.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF DAHL, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^{BLE} THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL.

London, Published June 1. 1832, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

CHARLES MORDAUNT,

THIRD EARL OF PETERBOROUGH.

A STATESMAN, a soldier, and a courtier, and not less remarkable for the brilliancy of his wit, and his affection for the placid charms of domestic life, than for the zeal, the courage, and the activity of his public service, was born in, or about, the year 1658. He was the eldest son of the next brother to Henry, the second Earl of Peterborough, John Mordaunt, who, having passed more than ten years of his life, in almost perpetual danger of forfeiting it, in the most generous and disinterested services to the cause of Charles the second, received from that Prince, in the year before his restoration, the title of Viscount Mordaunt of Avalon. His mother, not less zealous, and almost as active, was Elizabeth daughter and heir of Thomas Carey, second son to Robert, first Earl of Monmouth. His father dying in 1675, he was left to the exercise of his own inclination, and sailed, as it should seem a volunteer, in the fleet under Lord Torrington and Sir John Narborough, which was soon after sent to the Mediterranean against the Algerines. He served also in 1680 with some distinction, in an expedition for the relief of Tangier, in which he accompanied an adventurer even younger than himself, Charles Fitzcharles, Earl of Plymouth, a natural son of the King, who perhaps had the nominal command, and who died there in the course of that year.

Soon after his return he commenced politician, and uniformly opposed the measures of the Court in the House of Peers, where he is said to have been "one of the chief arguers" against the repeal of the Test Act. This aversion increased after the accession of James, and he engaged in all the secret plans of what was called the Country Party with a vehemence which indeed always distinguished him in all things, of all sorts, that he ever undertook. They seem indeed to have chosen him as the manager of their intrigues with the Prince of Orange. Thus marked as a partisan, he had the boldness to represent to the King that the command of a Dutch squadron about to sail for the West Indies had been offered to him, and asked permission to accept it, and to go to Holland; and James, who could not but have at least suspected his real motives, magnanimously granted it. Arrived there, he immediately offered his services to the Prince, and was the first, says Burnet, " of the English nobility that came over openly to see him." William received him with great cordiality, and listened to proposals, which he seems to have made very abruptly, for an immediate invasion of England, with a readiness and condescension which prove that he considered him as an accredited messenger from the revolutionary party there. Burnet however tells us that " he represented the matter as so easy that it appeared too romantical to the Prince to build upon it;" and adds that " he was a man of much heat, many notions, and full of discourse: that he was brave and generous, but had not true judgment, and that his thoughts were crude and undigested, and his secrets soon known."

In spite of these objections, and of William's cautious temper, he was actively concerned in every material part of the prelude to the revolution, and at length attended the Prince hither in 1688, on whose elevation to the Throne he was called to the Privy Council, and appointed a Lord of the Bedchamber; on the eighth of April, 1689, he was placed in the office of first commissioner of the Treasury; on the following day created Earl of Monmouth; and a few weeks after was constituted Lord Lieutenant of the county of Northampton. In this very year, and under these circumstances, if we are to believe Burnet, he became apprised of a Scottish design to restore James, and not only let it pass without disclosing it to William, but even betrayed an inclination to its success. The Bishop's words are, " Montgomery" (the chief agent here) " came to have great credit with some of the Whigs in

England, particularly with the Earl of Monmouth, and the Duke of Bolton, and he employed it all to persuade them not to trust the King, and to animate them against the Earl of Portland. This wrought so much that many were disposed to think they could have good terms from King James; and that he was now so convinced of former errors that they might safely trust him. The Earl of Monmouth let this out to myself twice, but in a strain that looked like one who was afraid of it, and who endeavoured to prevent it; but he set forth the reasons for it with great advantage, and those against it very faintly." He maintained his character however for fidelity; and, in the spring of 1694, when William, soon after the meeting of a new Parliament in which the Tories preponderated, was obliged to soothe them by the dismissal of some of his ministers: Monmouth was of the number, and quitted his office of the Treasury on the second of May in that year.

He was no more employed in this reign. On the nineteenth of June, 1697, he succeeded to the titles and estates of his family, upon the death of his uncle, Henry, Earl of Peterborough, and the few years which immediately preceded and followed that event were passed by him in the most graceful indolence—in the society of the first men of genius of his time, and in the cultivation of elegant literature; in foreign travel, and in building, and the tasteful improvement of his estates at home. Amidst these delightful engagements, public affairs appeared to be, and probably were, wholly forgotten, and it is to be feared that all seriousness was even worse than excluded—Peterborough is said to have been at least a deist, and without the decency of concealment. During a visit of some time to the celebrated Fenelon, at his archiepiscopal palace at Cambray, he was so charmed by the sweetness of temper and benevolence which adorned the pious lessons of that Prelate, that he said to the Chevalier Ramsay "upon my word I must quit this place as soon as possible, for if I stay here another week I shall be a christian in spite of myself."

On the accession of Anne, he was again brought into public service by her whig ministry, and appointed Governor of Jamaica. How long he held that office does not appear, but it could have been little more than two years, for on the twenty-seventh of March, 1705, he was sworn of her Privy Council, and at the same time declared General of the forces then about to be sent to Spain, and Admiral, jointly with Sir Cloudesley Shovel, of the fleet which conveyed them thither. He had no experience to recommend him to these weighty commissions beyond the two volunteer expeditions of his boyhood, and such military observations as he might have made on a single campaign in Flanders, where he had attended William in 1692, and in which he had no distinct command: but he possessed a quickness of apprehension, a clearness of judgement, and a promptness and firmness of decision, which, joined to the most undaunted courage, had fitted him intuitively to lead an army: nor can it be doubted that he owed his nomination to this important service to the Duke of Marlborough, then in the plenitude of his influence, and to that great man's observation of those qualities in another which so splendidly shone in himself.

The bravery and skill manifested by Peterborough in his two campaigns in Spain were admirable. He sailed from England on the twenty-fourth of May, and, taking on board at Lisbon Charles the third, one of the rival Kings, landed in the bay of Barcelona in the beginning of August. The military placed under his command were found to be so miserably inferior in number that they had scarcely disembarked when the question was agitated in a council of war whether it would not be prudent wholly to abandon the objects of the expedition, and to return. Peterborough, and the Prince of Hesse d'Armstadt, who had been Governor of Barcelona till the French had taken it for Philip the fifth, were the only advocates for offensive operations, and an immediate siege of that city, which however were in the end determined on, and the Prince of Hesse fell in the very outset. The troops first landed, which he, jointly with the Earl, had commanded, were disheartened, and gave way, when Peterborough rallied them, and attacking furiously a fort, which was held to be the key to Barcelona, and impregnable, carried it almost without loss; and, bombarding the city from the elevation on which it stood, blew up the magazine of powder, by which the Governor, and some of his best officers were killed, and the town soon after surrendered at discretion.

It is not intended, nor would it be here proper, to recount his operations in detail even thus confined: suffice it therefore to say that when Barcelona was soon after again attacked by the French, under the Duke of Anjou, he forced them to raise the siege, with immense loss of men, ammunition, and provisions; and, in the following year, with only ten thousand men, chased that Prince, and Philip the fifth, at the head of an army of twenty-five thousand, wholly out of Spain: taking possession of Catalonia, Valencia, Arragon, and Majorca, with part of Murcia and Castile; thus clearing the way for the Earl of Galway, who commanded an English army in Portugal, to march to Madrid without resistance. Through the whole of these exploits as his sagacity was equalled by his courage, so was his vigilance by his activity. Swift, with whom he lived in the latter years of his leisure in the strictest intimacy, alluding in one of his letters to the rapidity of his motions, says that Queen Anne's ministers used to complain that they were obliged to write at him, and not to him; and some one, as Lord Orford tells us, said of him that he had seen more kings, and more postilions, than any other man in Europe.

His brilliant services however could not secure him from one of those party attacks which so frequently disfigure the history of that reign. He was recalled in 1707, and great reverses of fortune presently occurred to the English army in Spain. On his return Anne refused to admit him to her presence, and an enquiry into his conduct was commenced by both Houses of Parliament. After an examination of witnesses and papers which lasted many days, the proceedings were suspended, nor were they resumed till the winter of 1710, when the resentment of parliament was transferred to the Earl of Galway; and on the twelfth of January, N. S. Peterborough received the thanks of the House of Peers, couched in the most flattering terms. He was now again received into full favour, and presently sent Ambassador to Vienna, as he was in the course of this, and the following year to Turin, and other Courts of Italy, and, on his return, in the end of 1712, was appointed colonel of the royal regiment of horse guards; on the fourth of August, 1713, installed a Knight of the Garter; and soon after went Ambassador extraordinary to the King of Naples and Sicily, from whence he returned not till after the death of the Queen.

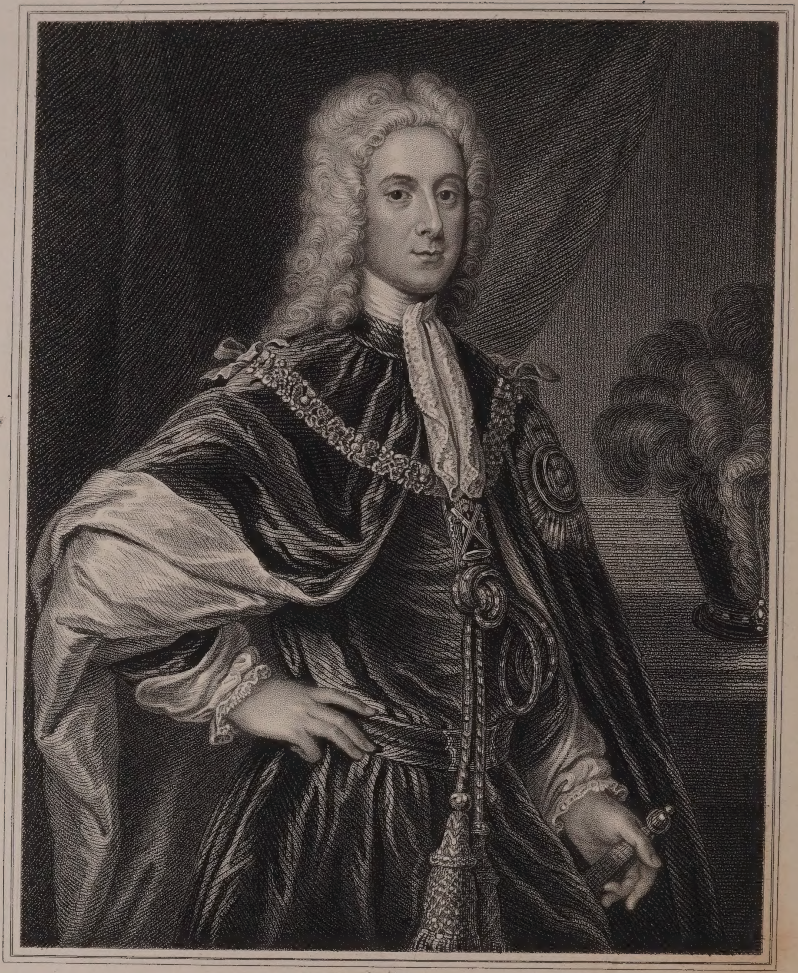
Here ended his public life. The long remainder seems to have glided on to very old age in a felicity which few experience, and which no one better knew how to enjoy. If not deeply respected, highly beloved; not less admired for the good nature than for the brilliancy of his wit; honest even in his politics; firm in his friendships; amiable in his very foibles; he reached the age of seventy-seven years, which had passed in uninterrupted health and vigour. All his mortal sufferings were reserved for his last days, and they were sharp indeed. From what morbid cause they arose we are not informed—surely not from a wound received in the public service which his ungrateful country forgot to record—but we have the following account of them in a letter from Pope to his friend Martha Blount, highly characteristic of the subject, and somewhat of the writer.

Bevis Mount, near Southampton,
August the 17th, 1735.

"Madam,

"I found my Lord Peterborough on his couch, where he gave me an account of the excessive sufferings he had passed through with a weak voice, but spirited. He talked of nothing but the great amendment of his condition, and of finishing the buildings and gardens for his best friend to enjoy after him; that he had one care more, when he went into France, which was to give a true account to posterity of some parts of history in Queen Anne's reign, which Burnet had scandalously represented ; and of some others to justify her against the imputation of intending to bring in the Pretender, which to his knowledge, neither her ministers Oxford and Bolingbroke, nor she, had any design to do. He next told me he had ended his domestic affairs, through such difficulties from the law that gave him as much torment of mind as his distemper had done of body to do right to the person to whom he had obligations beyond expression. That he had found it necessary not only to declare his marriage to all his relations, but, since the person who married them was dead, to re-marry her in the church at Bristol before witnesses. The warmth with which he spoke on these subjects made me think him much recovered, as well as his talking of his present state as a heaven to what was past. I lay in the next room to him, where I found he was awake, and called for help most hours of the night, sometimes crying out for pain. In the morning he got up at nine, and was carried into the garden in a chair. He fainted away twice there. He fell about twelve into a violent pang, which made his limbs all shake, and his teeth chatter, and for some time he lay cold as death. His wound was dressed, which was done constantly four times a day, and he grew gay, and sat at dinner with ten people. After this he was in great torment for a quarter of an hour, and as soon as the pang was over was carried into the garden to the workmen, talking again of history, and declaimed with great spirit against the meanness of the present great men and ministers, and the decay of the public spirit and honour. It is impossible to conceive how much his heart is above his condition. He is dying every other hour, and obstinate to do whatever he has a mind to. He has concerted no measures beforehand for his journey, but to get a yacht, in which he will set sail ; but no place fixed on to reside at, nor has determined what place to land at, nor has provided any accommodation for his going on land. He talks of getting towards Lyons, but undoubtedly he never can travel but to the sea shore. I pity the poor woman who has to share in all he suffers, and who can in no one thing persuade him to spare himself. I think he will be lost in this attempt, and attempt it he will. He has with him, day after day, not only all his relations, but every creature of the town of Southampton that pleases. He lies on his couch, and receives them, though he says little. When his pains come, he desires them to walk out, but invites them to stay and dine or sup, &c. He says he will go at the month's end if he is alive. Nothing can be more affecting and melancholy to me than what I see here: yet he takes my visit so kindly that I should have lost one great pleasure had I not come. I have nothing more to say, as I have nothing in my mind but this present object, which indeed is extraordinary. This man was never born to die like other men, any more than to live like them."

He did however reach the end of his intended journey, and died at Lisbon on the twenty-fifth of the following October, N. S. Lord Peterborough married, first, Carey, daughter of Sir Alexander Fraser, of Dotes, in the shire of Mearns, in Scotland, by whom he had two sons, John, and Henry, the elder distinguished in the army, the second in the navy, both of whom died before their father; and one daughter, Henrietta, wife of Alexander, second Duke of Gordon. His second Countess was Anastasia Robinson, a celebrated public singer, who is frequently alluded to in the letter we have just now seen, and who had for many years almost lived with him, without any blemish on her character. She long survived him, enjoying that intimacy with many of the rank to which she had been thus raised which the strict correctness of her conduct and manners had deservedly obtained. By her the Earl had no children: he was succeeded therefore by his eldest grandson, Charles, son and heir of his eldest son, John, Lord Mordaunt.



Engraved by S. Freeman.

JOHN CAMPBELL, DUKE OF ARGYLL & GREENWICH.

OB. 1743.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF KNELLER, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE HON^BLE^ GEORGE AGAR ELLIS.

London, Published Nov. 1, 1833; by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

JOHN CAMPBELL,

SECOND DUKE OF ARGYLL, AND DUKE OF GREENWICH.

THE severities of punishment and forfeiture which an intemperate attachment to the dangerous extravagancies of presbyterianism had drawn down on the heads of some of this great nobleman's ancestors formed an ample recommendation of their posterity to the highest favour upon the great change in the form of English government which occurred in 1688. His father, Archibald, tenth Earl of Argyll, had been accordingly restored in blood immediately after that revolution, and at length received from William the title of Duke. He married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Sir Lionel Talmash, of Helmingham, in Suffolk, by Elizabeth Murray, Countess of Dysart in her own right, and the eminent person of whom we are to treat was the first issue of their union, and was born on the tenth of October, 1678.

He is said to have profited not much by the usual course of a fine education, his attention to which was interrupted by an ardent inclination to the study of the military art, and to the life of a soldier; and so little did this partake of the caprice of a lively boy, that his father at length determined to indulge it, and, soon after his introduction at Court, in his seventeenth year, procured for him the command of a regiment of infantry. He does not appear however to have been engaged in active service till the following reign, when he highly distinguished himself at the siege of Keyserswaert, one of the first operations of Queen Anne's long and glorious war. In September, 1703, he succeeded to his father's dignities and estates, and was presently after sworn of the Privy Council in Scotland and appointed captain of the Horse Guards there, and, on the revival of the order of the Thistle in the next year, was chosen a Knight Companion. In 1705 the important office of High Commissioner to the Scottish Parliament was intrusted to him, and with it the management of the overtures to the treaty of union, an affair of much delicacy and difficulty, by the preparations for which the transactions of that year were distinguished. Argyll promoted the measure with all the powers of his own mind, which were very considerable, and with all the weight of his great family influence in Scotland, and sacrificed to it much of the popularity which he had acquired there, or rather, according to the custom of that country, was born to possess. In this, as in all his early public conduct, he was actuated wholly by a clear and resolute judgement, and the most conscientious motives. " He was extremely forward," says an enemy who has left a character of him, " in effecting what he aimed at and designed, which he owned and promoted above-board, being altogether free of the least share of dissimulation, and his word so sacred, that one might assuredly depend upon it. His head ran more upon the camp than the court; and it appears that nature had dressed him up accordingly, being altogether incapable of the servile dependency, and flattering insinuations, requisite in the last, and endued with that chearful lively temper, and personal valour, esteemed and necessary in the other."

Anne testified her sense of his services in Scotland by receiving him on his return into the English Peerage: on the twenty-sixth of November, 1705, he was created Earl of Greenwich and Lord Chatham, and in the succeeding spring indulged his ruling disposition by serving a campaign, in the station of Brigadier-General, under the Duke of Marlborough, and is said to have evinced great courage and prudence in the famous battle of Ramillies, as he certainly did in the sieges of Ostend and of Menin, which important post presently after surrendered to him. He returned in the autumn to Scotland, and supported in Parliament, with all the ardour and frankness that distinguished his character, the great question of the union, by which the senate and the people were then equally agitated. During the debates on it he gave a remarkable proof of his powers of persuasion, as well as of his personal courage, in quitting the House of Lords to present himself alone to an enraged and tumultuous multitude which had assembled at their doors to demand the rejection of the bill, and which was peaceably dispersed solely by his efforts. He longed however to be again engaged in active military service, and we find him soon after, being then a Major-General, and Colonel of the third regiment of infantry, commanding twenty battalions in the battle of Oudenarde, where he acquired signal credit, as well as in the consequent reduction of Lisle, Ghent, and Tournay, in the attack of the latter of which he was second in command. He had an eminent share in the victory of Malplaquet, which speedily followed, and which was better known by the name of the Battle of the Woods, having been fought close to two great woods. From one of these the Duke dislodged the main body of the French infantry with incredible bravery, and imminent personal hazard, for we are told that several musquet balls passed through his clothes, his hat, and even his wig, yet he escaped unhurt.

During these services, some coolness, of the cause of which we are uninformed, arose between Argyll and the Commander-in-chief, which had now ripened into a confirmed disgust. He returned to London in the autumn of 1710, when Marlborough's political interest was rapidly declining, and it may be easily supposed that no means were neglected by the tories to take advantage of the discord of these great men, and to secure the every way important aid of a man of Argyll's power and talents. His frank and generous nature was incapable of receiving any tincture either of the cunning or of the malignity of party, but the warmth of his temper led him to give way to their suggestions; he engaged with them, and the first public step of his opposition was to object in the House of Lords to a motion of thanks to the Duke of Marlborough. He spoke and voted for the enquiry also which was instituted in this session into the conduct of the English affairs in Spain, and joined in all the censures which were passed on the at length vanquished whig administration. He was now chosen a Knight of the Garter, and, in January, 1711, accepted the appointments of Ambassador extraordinary to King Charles the third of Spain, and Commander-in-chief of the English forces in that country, and, taking Holland on his way thither, had an opportunity, which his high spirit should have forbad, of personally affronting Marlborough, who was then at the Hague, by singling him out from the eminent public men in that city for the denial of the compliment of a visit. On his arrival at Barcelona he found the army ill paid, ill provisioned, and altogether in disorder, and unfit for service. He remonstrated again and again in vain to the ministers at home, and, having pressed as ineffectually for remittances, at length borrowed money on his own security, to save the troops from actual famine. The anger and chagrin caused by these disappointments ended in a violent fever, soon after his recovery from which, finding himself wholly unable to prosecute any active operations, he returned to England, after a short stay at Minorca, of which island he had been lately appointed governor.

Upon his arrival he was complimented with the appointments of Commander-in-chief of the Queen's troops in Scotland, and Governor of the Castle of Edinburgh, but he had returned full of a resentment against the ministers which far greater concessions on their parts could not have appeased. On the meeting of Parliament he appeared among the most determined of their opponents. He arraigned their conduct in the peace of Utrecht; joined warmly in supporting a resolution proposed in the House of Peers to declare the protestant succession to be in danger while the government remained in their hands; charged them with a traitorous correspondence with the exiled royal family; and argued, even with vehemence, for a motion made in 1713 by the Earl of Seafield for the dissolution of the union, which he himself a very few years before had so earnestly laboured to accomplish.

He endeavoured on this occasion to avoid the charge of inconsistency by professing that as his main motive for favouring it was to secure the succession to the House of Hanover, so, that being now firmly established by other and better means, it would be wise to abrogate a system which, among a multitude of evils, involved no other benefit. The temperate and cautious Harley, though at this time tottering, was at length excited to anger, and, on the fourth of March, 1714, the Duke was deprived of his regiment of Scottish Horse-guards, and of his governments of Edinburgh and Minorca.

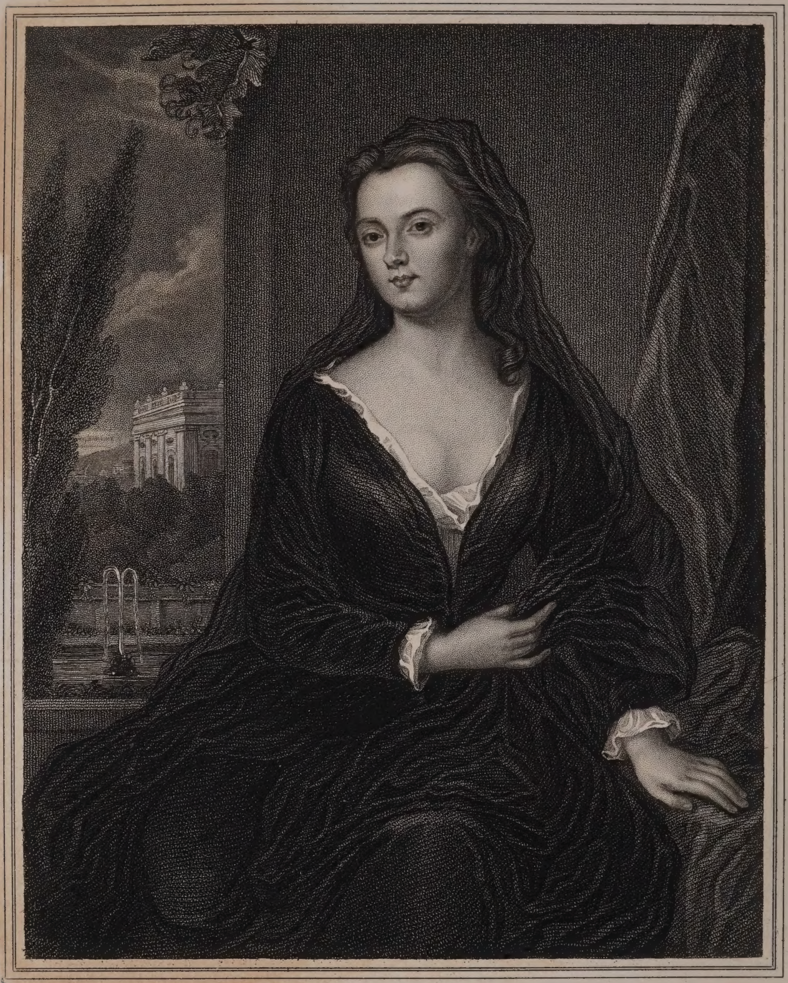
With a more becoming dignity, he suddenly presented himself, in company with the Duke of Somerset, to the Privy Council, in the last hours of the life of Anne, and moved that all the members of that august body, without distinction of party, should be instantly summoned to attend. It was a critical moment, for so nicely balanced at that period throughout the country were the friends of the rival royal Houses, that there is nothing extravagant in supposing that the happy event which followed might possibly have arisen from this firm and timely interference. The Queen expired two days after, but the friends to the Act of Settlement had now placed themselves at the Council Table, and an order was issued for the instant proclamation of King George the first, who had already included in an instrument which he dispatched from Hanover the name of the Duke of Argyll, to be added to those on whom, in right of their offices, the executive government devolved, with the style of Lords Justices, during the King's absence. On the twentieth of September, 1714, he was nominated a Commissioner for settling the Household of the Prince of Wales, to whom he was made Groom of the Stole; on the twenty-seventh was restored to his station, at that moment of the very last importance, of Commander-in-Chief of the forces in Scotland; and, a few days after, was sworn of the Privy Council, and re-appointed Governor of Minorca. On the fifteenth of June, in the succeeding year, he received the commission of Colonel of the royal regiment of horse guards in England.

The feeble rebellion of 1715 immediately followed, and the Duke, hastening to oppose it, arrived at Edinburgh in the last week of October. He found the King's affairs in confusion, and the people panic-struck. The regular troops there consisted but of two thousand men, and it was with difficulty that he could speedily add to them fifteen hundred by a new levy. With this very inferior force he attacked, at Dumblain, on the thirteenth of November, 1715, the rebel army, under the Earl of Mar, amounting to nine thousand, and compelled it to quit the field, with considerable loss. This event, though some circumstances of the action gave the Scots a pretence to call it a drawn battle, considerably broke their spirits. An accident indeed had nearly given them the victory, for the Duke, with an imprudent valour, had once charged so far into their ranks that it was with the greatest difficulty he escaped falling into their hands. They faced him no more in the field. He was soon after sufficiently reinforced, and, having driven them from Perth, the only important stronghold possessed by them, at length completely dispersed them, while their unhappy Prince, who had commanded them in person, precipitately embarked for France.

Having received all marks of the highest gratitude in Scotland, he returned to London early in the following spring, and was greeted by the King with the most distinguished cordiality and approbation; yet, before many weeks had passed, he was suddenly dispossessed of all his employments. It is strange that we can find no sufficient reason given for this singular change, so immediately following the performance of eminent services. It was rumoured that it arose from the King's jealousy of his growing favour with the Prince of Wales, but those who have spoken of it seem to have been even ignorant whether he had given or received offence; whether he resigned, or was dismissed; and yet there must have been some more than ordinarily serious cause, since his brother, the Earl of Islay, at the same time relinquished certain high offices which he held in Scotland. Whatever it might have been, Argyll now again engaged in a strenuous opposition to all the measures of government, and we find him, of whom it might be almost said that he was born a soldier, declaiming in Parliament against the mutiny bill, and the terrors of a standing army. This disposition subsisted till the winter of 1719, when on the sixth of February, N. S. he accepted the appointment of Lord Steward of the Household, and on the thirtieth of the succeeding April was advanced in the English Peerage to the dignity of Duke of Greenwich. He now again stood forth a declared friend to the government; opposed a bill for securing the freedom of elections to the lower House of Parliament; voted for the temporary suspension of the Habeas Corpus act; and impaired his reputation for consistency by defending a mutiny bill, and speaking of a standing army at least with complacency: Thus may the loftiest native independence bend insensibly, to the rule of political example, and the meanness of party spirit.

In June, 1725, he resigned his office of Lord Steward, and was appointed Master General of the Ordnance: in January, 1731, received the command of that which was called the Queen's own regiment of Horse; and was soon after made Governor of Portsmouth. On the fourteenth of January, 1736, N. S. he was constituted Field Marshal of all the King's forces. He had now continued for nearly fifteen years a steady supporter in Parliament of the measures of the Court, when in 1739 he again suddenly abandoned it, and devoted all the vigour of his mind, and his not less powerful eloquence, to the arraignment of the measures of the government. He was now once more deprived of all his offices, civil and military, but, on the removal of Sir Robert Walpole in 1741, was not only restored to that of Master General of the Ordnance, and appointed to the command of the royal regiment of life guards, but elevated to the station of Commander-in-chief of the army. Within one month however he unexpectedly waited on the King with his final resignation of the whole. No satisfactory reason has been assigned for a step seemingly so capricious; but it may perhaps be ascribed to a motive merely private and personal. He had been for some time afflicted by paralytic affections, which, as his years increased, had become more frequent, and more violent, and it is probable that some attack of this infirmity sterner than usual had warned him to retire from the high trusts which had been committed to him while he possessed capacity to execute them, rather than incur the censure of having held them till the decay of that ability should have become evident to the world.

John, Duke of Argyll, whose private life was adorned by almost all the most estimable moral qualities, died on the third of September, 1743, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. By his first lady, Mary, daughter of John Brown, and niece to the wealthy Alderman Sir Charles Duncombe, he had no issue. His second, Jane, daughter of Thomas Warburton, of Winnington, in Cheshire, brought him five daughters; Caroline, married first to Francis Scot, Earl of Dalkeith, secondly to the right honourable Charles Townshend, second son of Charles, third Viscount Townshend; Anne, to William Wentworth, fourth Earl of Strafford; Jane, who died young and unmarried; Betty, wife of the right honourable John Stuart Mackenzie, second son of James Stuart, second Earl of Bute; and Mary, married to Edward, Viscount Coke, eldest son of Thomas Coke, first and last Earl of Leicester of his family. The Duke, thus dying without male issue, his English titles of peerage became extinct, but his Scottish honours devolved on his brother, Archibald, Earl of Islay.



Engraved by H.T. Ryall.

SARAH JENNINGS, DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

OB. 1744.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF SIR PETER LELY, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

London Published December 1, 1835, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

SARAH JENNINGS,

DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

This remarkable lady, who, without the aid of great talents, and with the positive disadvantage of a most irregular temper, possessed for many years a considerable share of public influence, was the second of the three daughters and coheirs of Richard Jennings, of Sandbridge, in the county of Hertford, a gentleman of respectable family, by Frances, daughter and heir of a Mr. Thornhurst, of Kent. The two elder sisters, in acknowledgement, as it is said, of some loyal services and losses by their father, were received at a very early age, Sarah being then only twelve years old, into the household of Mary, Duchess of York. Here, she was chosen for the peculiar attendant on the Princess Anne, James's younger daughter, who was nearly of the same age; and here, three or four years after, she gained the heart of the gallant and accomplished Churchill, then a colonel in the army, and a gentleman of the bedchamber to the Duke, by whom he was already much esteemed and trusted. She became his wife in the spring of the year 1678.

While Churchill gradually acquired the confidence and the favour of James, his lady rose more rapidly in the affections of the young Princess. Anne was mild, sincere, humble, timid, and abounding in that sort of general reserve which is almost characteristic of a heart susceptible of the tenderest friendship; the powers of her mind were very limited, and to her earnest desire to be beloved was probably added a consciousness that she needed an adviser: with these qualities she possessed another, by no means inconsistent with any of them—a spirit of perseverance, when she had once resolved, so firm as perhaps to merit the harsher appellation of obstinacy. Mrs. Churchill, with a character almost wholly opposite, was yet well qualified to live easily with such a person. She too was kind and sincere, but her kindness was generally grounded in pity, and her sincerity in disdain: she had however a heart strictly honest, and was neither cruel nor unjust, even amidst her highest resentments. Incapable of useful deliberation, she possessed a sagacity which seldom erred, and joined to a clear conception of characters and manners a never failing vivacity in the unreserved communication of her opinions. Between such a Princess, anxious to descend to the familiarities of private life, and such a servant, in whom the hatred of superiority was even an instinct, an union of some duration might perhaps be fairly expected.

In 1683 her husband was advanced to the Scottish peerage, by the title of Lord Churchill, and in the same year, when a more extended household was allotted to the Princess on her marriage to the Prince of Denmark, she was appointed, at Anne's special request to her father, a lady of her bedchamber, and was soon after placed at the head of that department. In a letter to her, written just at that period, the Princess says—"let me beg of you not to call me 'your Highness' at every word, but be as free with me as one friend ought to be with another; and you can never give me any greater proof of your friendship than in telling me your mind freely in all things, which I do beg you to do." Not satisfied with such minor condescension, and solicitous to indulge to the utmost in the illusion of equality, she shortly after proposed that they should correspond in the feigned names of private persons, and in all their secret intercourse for many subsequent years they used the designations of Mrs. Morley and Mrs. Freeman, Lady Churchill, to whom the Princess had given the option, having chosen the latter.

James now succeeded to the throne, and it is almost needless to say that in his anxiety to gain proselytes to the Romish faith he did not overlook his daughter. Lady Churchill, zealous in all that she professed or practiced, was a zealous protestant and whig, and strengthened with all her influence Anne's inclination to resist. Doubtless too she assisted in inducing the Princess to desert her father, on the landing of the Prince of Orange, and she was the companion of her flight, the method of which she had previously planned in concert with the Bishop of London. Neither were her persuasions wanting to obtain the Princess's consent to the settlement of the crown on William for his life. Such praise or blame however as she incurred in matters involved in that revolution might probably be more justly due to her husband, whose activity in it, against the interest of his royal master and patron, has been abundantly and justly censured. William, on obtaining the throne, rewarded him with an earldom, and she now became Countess of Marlborough.

The new King, whose doubtful title Anne had thus contributed to strengthen by ceding her birthright in his favour, began his reign by quarrelling with her on the amount of the revenue to be settled on her, in which he was heartily joined by the Queen, her sister. Anne, supported by the Tories, threw herself on the Parliament, and carried her point, chiefly through the management of Marlborough and his lady, to the mortal offence both of the King and Queen. Marlborough, against whom there were other causes for resentment, was now discharged from his appointments, and the Princess, having refused to obey a stern mandate, by which the Queen required her to dismiss his lady, received presently a second, to prohibit the residence of the Countess at the Cockpit, where Anne had long lived, and which she now instantly quitted, with her friend, for a borrowed house. The most furious anger ensued on both sides, and was as usual vented in unbecoming and vulgar expressions. William, in the private conversations of Anne and Lady Marlborough, was usually called "Caliban, the Dutch abortion," and "the Monster," and his favourite countryman, the Earl of Portland, was complimented with the name of "Wooden-head." These disgraceful broils were terminated by the unexpected death of the Queen in 1694, soon after which Marlborough was restored to the King's good graces, and the persecution of the Countess ceased, but her hatred to William remained unaltered till his death.

On the accession of her mistress to the throne she burst forth a politician. The love of rule was her darling passion, and she seems to have applied it to the affairs of a kingdom with as little hesitation as to the intrigues of a royal household. Her party predilections were diametrically opposed to those of the Queen, as well as to those professed by her Lord, who acted with the tories. "I resolved," says she, in the 'Account of her own Conduct,' which she published in the latter years of her life, "from the very beginning of the Queen's reign, to try whether I could not by degrees make impressions on her mind more favourable to the whigs:" and Anne, in a letter to her of the same period, writes—"I am very glad to find by my dear M^{rs}. Freeman's that I was blest with yesterday, that she liked my speech; but I cannot help being extremely concerned you are so partial to the whigs, because I would not have you and your poor, unfortunate, faithful Morley differ in opinion on the least thing; and, upon my word, my dear M^{rs}. Freeman, you are mightily mistaken in your notion of a true whig," &c. Each however remained stedfast in her opinion, as well as in the means severally used by them to conquer each other's prejudices. While Lady Marlborough besieged by regular and open approaches, the Queen sought to gain her by bribery. She was placed in the great courtly offices of Groom of the Stole, Mistress of the Robes, and Keeper of the Privy Purse; two of her daughters were made Ladies of the Bedchamber; and Lord Godolphin, whose heir was married to the elder of them, was appointed Lord Treasurer. Even the vast favours lavished at the same time on Lord Marlborough may be in some measure traced to the same motive. To so ridiculous a length did Anne carry this system of conciliation that, when she had resolved, on the termination of his first campaign, to raise him prematurely, for so it was, to the first dignity that an English subject can hold, she gave notice of it to his lady in these terms —“ It is very uneasy to your poor unfortunate faithful Morley to think that she has so little in her power to shew how truly sensible I am of all my Lord Marlborough’s kindness, especially at a time when he deserves all that a rich crown could give; but, since there is nothing else at this time, I hope you will give me leave as soon as he comes to make him a Duke.” The Countess objected to this proposal, and stated her reasons with equal good sense and sincerity, but at length submitted.

The Queen had commenced her reign with a Tory administration. The Duchess, after passing two years in incessant efforts to undermine it, and in endeavouring to persuade Anne to replace it wholly from the opposite party, was obliged to content herself with half a triumph. The Queen, worn out by her importunities, and sheltering herself under the advice, or rather compliance, of Marlborough and Godolphin, who were in a great measure ruled by the same influence, consented to a sort of compromise, and several of the whig leaders were admitted into office: among these, the Queen hesitated long on the appointment of the Earl of Sunderland to the office of Secretary of State. He was perhaps the most determined member of his party; his manners were repulsive, and his temper was ungovernable; but he was the husband of one of the Duchess’s daughters. Marlborough himself faintly opposed his advancement to the post; the Queen besought with fond and querulous intreaties, but at length gave way; and the Duchess, in gaining this point, seems to have lost irrevocably her mistress’s affection. It had been long failing, but so inveterate was the habit of controul on the one side, and compliance on the other, that the parties themselves were perhaps insensible of its decay. The Duchess’s letters to her however, which had been for some time gradually assuming a tone of formality, became on this occasion frequently rude and scornful, not only in their sense, but in their very terms of expression.

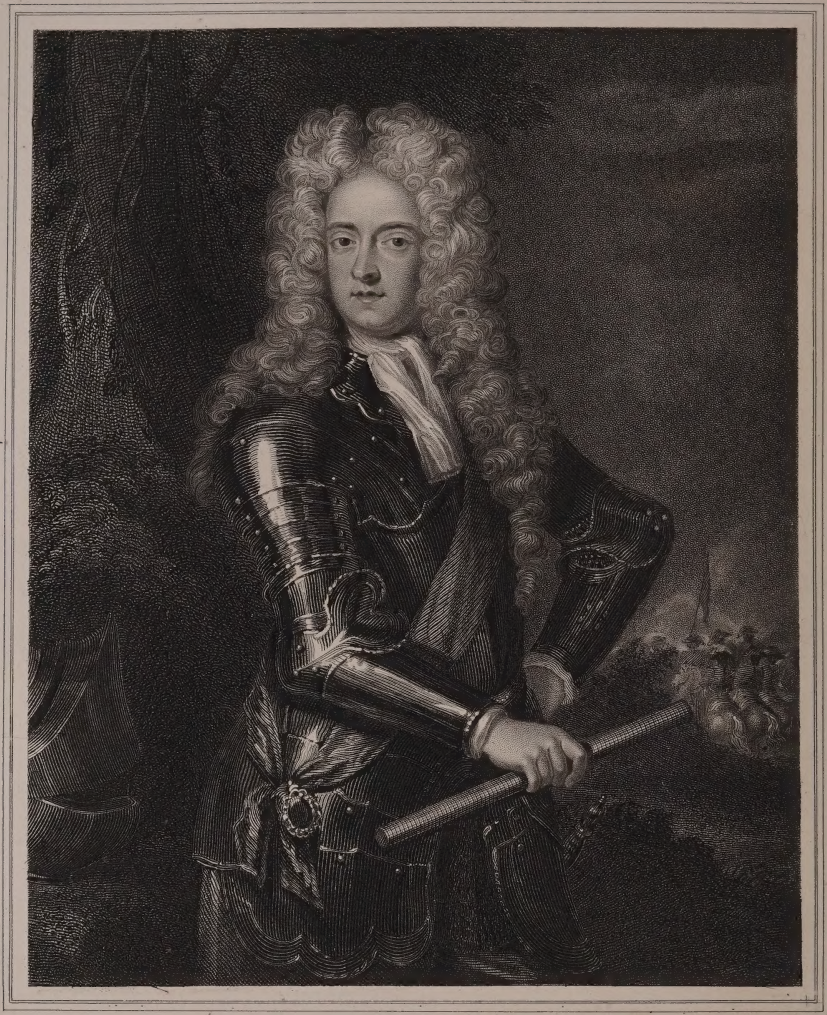
Anne seems not to have recollected that she was a Queen till the Duchess had wholly forgotten herself to be a subject.

It is doubtful whether her Majesty, even under this extremity of oppression, could have found sufficient strength of mind to set herself at liberty by her own efforts, but encouragement is always at hand to Princes who wish to dispose of favourites. The Duchess had placed in the royal household some years before a first cousin of the name of Hill, the daughter of a broken merchant, and the insignificant office held by this lady gave her frequent access to the Queen's person. Anne, to whom custom as well as nature had rendered a familiar companion necessary, presently distinguished her from her other attendants of the same rank; sought consolation in her society after the storms to which the intemperance of the Duchess now so frequently exposed her, and insensibly became attached to her. She was at length married, with the greatest privacy, to Mr., afterwards Lord, Masham, in the presence of the Queen, who gave her a portion, and the discovery of these facts by the Duchess, which was long in reaching her, was accompanied by the fearful intelligence that Mrs. Masham had become the medium of secret communication between the Queen and the most dangerous political enemies of Marlborough and herself. She now besieged Anne with new remonstrances and reproaches, which were heard with patience, and for some time answered by faint professions of kindness; but the Queen had formed her determination, and, after several months had been passed in unceasing endeavours to effect even the decent appearances of reconciliation, as well by the Duke as by his lady, she parted finally with Anne on the sixth of April, 1710, after a long conversation little remarkable but for the taciturn coldness of the one, and the angry volubility of the other.

The conduct of the Duchess after this interview disappointed the expectations of her friends, and gratified the malice of her enemies. She left no means untried to retain her offices. She even condescended to the baseness of indirectly menacing the Queen with a publication of all their correspondence, and the expedient for a while succeeded. She prevailed on Marlborough to return from the continent, and to solicit for her, as he did, almost abjectly, at more than one audience. Anne however was inexorable; yet the Duchess delayed her resignation even to the hour in which she was conscious that it would be forced from her. She resigned, and having passed this bitter point, abandoned herself to all the extravagances of childish resentment, such as tearing down chimney-pieces, locks, and other small matters, which had been put up at her expence in her official apartments in St. James's Palace; while Anne, as though to emulate this mean and spiteful absurdity, threatened, through her Secretary of State, alluding to the mansion of Blenheim, that "she would build no house for the Duke of Marlborough when the Duchess had pulled her's to pieces." Anger is the only passion the excesses of which high breeding cannot in some degree refine, or at least disguise.

She retired into the country, overwhelmed with discontent, and assailed by innumerable libels, and remained there in seclusion till the following year, when the Duke, discharged from his employments, went to Germany, whither she presently followed him, and returned with him after the death of the Queen. In spite of disappointments, loss of power, and increasing years, she now relapsed into party politics, and private resentments; taxed her lord with inactivity when he had become incapable of exertion; quarrelled individually and collectively, with a ministry which had been formed by her son-in-law, Sunderland, and most bitterly with himself; was accused by him, in return, of secret correspondence with the Pretender, and driven to court humbly the good graces of the Duchess of Kendal, the royal mistress, to obtain the means of justifying herself to George the First; and finally, became the implacable, however impotent, enemy to the family and interests of that Prince, because he forbore in his civil answer to her representations implicitly to acquit her, when he had not in fact the means of knowing whether she was innocent or guilty. The restless violence of temper which had plunged her into these difficulties vented itself in her old age on her own family, with almost every member of which she was on ill terms, and with more than one engaged in law-suits.

The Duchess of Marlborough survived her celebrated Lord for more than twenty years. She was solicited in marriage, when past her grand climacteric, by the Duke of Somerset, and Lord Coningsby, and her answer to the former is yet extant. After excusing herself on the score of her age, she concludes by declaring that, " were she only thirty years old, she would not permit the Emperor of the world to succeed in that heart which had been devoted to John Duke of Marlborough;" and surely gratitude as well as pride demanded of her this tribute to his memory, for to the last he loved her with the most exquisite tenderness. She died on the eighteenth of October 1744, at the age of eighty four.



Engraved by H. Robinson.

JAMES BUTLER, SECOND DUKE OF ORMOND.

OB. 1745.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF KNELLER, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE, THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE.

London, Published Oct^{r} 1, 1834, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

JAMES BUTLER,

SECOND DUKE OF ORMOND,

WAS the only surviving son of that model of almost universal perfection, Thomas, Earl of Ossory, and grandson and heir to the scarcely less worthy James, on whom the Dukedom was conferred immediately after the Restoration. His mother was Amelia Nassau, daughter of Louis van Beverwaert, a natural son of the celebrated Maurice, Prince of Orange, and he was born in the Castle of Dublin, during the Viceroyalty in Ireland of his grandfather, on the twenty-ninth of April, 1665.

Of the commencement of his education we are uninformed, but it was concluded at Christchurch, in the university of Oxford, of which the Duke, his grandfather, had been for many years Chancellor, a circumstance which will amply account for his being complimented there with the degree of a Master of Arts at the early age of fifteen. His father had died very suddenly, of an acute illness, just five weeks before his election, which was on the sixth of September, 1680, and he was summoned immediately after to Ireland by the old Duke, with whom he remained for more than three years, and left him in April, 1684, to serve as a volunteer at the siege of Luxembourg, which was then invested by the French. This military expedition occupied him till the following July, in the end of which month he returned; received a commission of Colonel of a regiment of Horse in Ireland; and, in the spring of the succeeding year, came to London, and was appointed a Lord of the King's Bedchamber, then bearing the title of Earl of Ossory. The wild insurrection of the Duke of Monmouth occurring presently after, he was dispatched into the west, and was present, with what command does not appear on the sixth of July, in the decisive battle of Sedgemoor.

His grandfather, to whose high honours and great estates he succeeded, died on the twenty-first of July, 1688, and, before the close of the month, such was the respect of that learned body for his name and blood, he was elected, in the place of the late Duke, Chancellor of the University of Oxford. He joined heartily in the disapprobation excited by the weak and extravagant measures of this short reign, and signed, with several other spiritual and temporal Peers, that remarkable petition of the seventeenth of November, 1688, in which the consequences of those errors, and their remedies, were so clearly, and so respectfully pointed out; and, on the refusal of the King to listen to those arguments, was among the first of the nobility to leave the Court, and, in company with Prince George of Denmark, presented himself to the Prince of Orange, at Sherborne, in Dorsetshire, immediately after his landing. Among the last acts of James's short-lived rule in Ireland was the seizure of the Duke's vast estates there, and the exception of him from the general pardon offered. He was at the same time attainted by the Irish Parliament.

The severity of these attacks was softened by William's distinguished favour. On the fourteenth of February, the very day after the proclamation of his accession to the Throne, he appointed Ormond a Lord of his Bedchamber, and Colonel of the second troop of Horse Guards; and, in the following April, gave him the Garter, and nominated him High Constable of England for the solemnity of the Coronation. He became in some measure a personal favourite, and his qualifications for a soldier were soon so evident to William's military acuteness that in 1689 he was intrusted with the command of the English cavalry in the Netherlands, and served there in that character during the campaign with ample credit, as may be clearly inferred from the fact that in the following year he was chosen by the King, as a companion in his warlike and momentous expedition to Ireland, and fought under his eye in the battle of the Boyne, from which he marched, with a strong body of Horse, and took possession of the cities of Dublin and Kilkenny. He remained in Ireland till the end of the war there, and soon after attended William to the army in Flanders, where he had his full share of service in all important affairs of the campaign of 1693, and was peculiarly distinguished at the adverse battle of Landen, in which, gallantly charging the enemy at the head of a strong squadron of Horse, he had his horse shot under him, received several severe wounds, and was saved from death by an officer of the French Guard, who seized the arm of a soldier which was raised to stab him. He was carried to Namur, where the first thought that occurred to him was to put a large sum into the hands of Count Guiscard, the Governor, to be distributed among his fellow prisoners; and, being permitted to go to London on his parole, was soon after exchanged for the Duke of Berwick, who had been captured by the English in the same action.

Queen Anne pursuing the war against France and Spain, which had been rather suspended than concluded by the peace of Ryswick, an expedition was dispatched against Cadiz in the first year of her reign. In the month of June the Duke embarked, with ten thousand men, on board a fleet commanded by Sir George Rooke, which sailed directly thither. The attack on Cadiz failed, but, on their return to England, they learned that the Spanish Plate Fleet, with a strong convoy of French ships of war, were in the bay of Vigo; Rooke returned thither; and the famous service of breaking the boom ensued; the Duke then landed, with his troops, and, after seizing several forts on the coast, advanced into the country, and stormed the town of Ridondella, while Rooke, whose conduct, by the way, incurred much blame, possessed himself of the fleet. Vast treasure, however, fell into the hands of the General, as well as of the Admiral, and they received on their return, together with the thanks of both Houses of Parliament, the most extravagant gratulations from the people. In the course of this year the Duke was appointed Lord Lieutenant of the county of Somerset, and on the fourth of February, in the next was nominated to succeed the Earl of Rochester as Governor-general of Ireland, in which exalted office he remained till 1706, delighting the people not less by the unexampled splendour of his Court than by the mildness and beneficence of his rule. In 1707 he became Colonel of the third troop of Horse Guards; on the nineteenth of October, 1710, was again declared Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, on the recal from thence of the Lord Wharton; on the first of January, 1712, N.S., was made Colonel of the first regiment of Foot Guards; and on the twenty-sixth of the succeeding month Commander in Chief of the army, upon the dismission of the Duke of Marlborough.

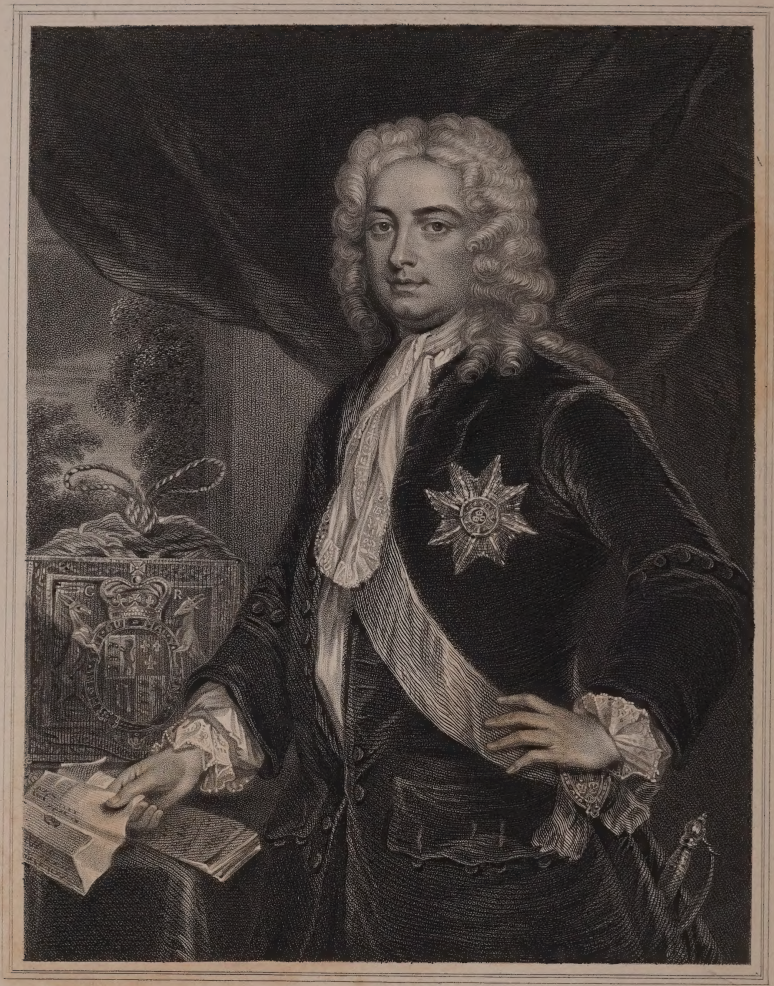
In that exalted character he set out for Flanders in the spring of 1712, to direct and superintend the operations of the allied armies, in concert with Prince Eugene. On the twenty-third of April he arrived at the Hague, with instructions to inform the Grand Pensionary that the Queen was resolved to prosecute the war with all vigour, and afterwards to settle with the Prince, "and such other generals as were in the secret, the proper measures for entering on action." The "secret" was a sort of half-engagement to Louis the fourteenth to forbear, as much as possible, all offensive operations against him, on certain conditions as loosely agreed to on his part. The allied armies however marched towards the head of the Schelde, where the French lay, as to attack them, when, on the twenty-fourth of May, Ormond received a letter from Secretary St. John, conveying "the Queen's positive command that he should avoid engaging in any siege, or hazarding any battle, till further orders;" and entered immediately after into a private and confidential correspondence with Marechal Villars, who commanded the French. In the mean time, these matters coming imperfectly to the knowledge of the States, they complained heavily that we had betrayed them, and Prince Eugene, on the part of the Austrians, however far he might have been originally admitted into the "secret," seemed little less dissatisfied, while Ormond, whose dignity, both as a nobleman and a general, had been grossly insulted by these orders, could not conceal his chagrin, though he persisted, from public motives, in retaining his command. They were at length taken up at home by the opponents of the ministry, and canvassed with great severity in Parliament, after which Ormond was allowed to join Prince Eugene in besieging Quesnoy, but, when that place was on the point of capitulating, he informed the Prince that he had received orders to proclaim a cessation of arms for two months. The Generals now parted in mutual disgust, and the Duke, having received permission to return, accompanied by the strongest declaration of the Queen's entire approbation of his conduct, on the first of November landed in England. On the twenty-sixth of June, he was appointed Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Governor of Dover Castle.

Anne survived this period barely for one year, and, immediately after her death, on the first of August, 1714, Ormond was among the foremost to sign the proclamation of the succession of George the first to the throne, and to meet him on his landing at Greenwich, where that Prince received him without any indication of distaste, as he did again a few days after, on the Duke's presenting at St. James's, in his character of Chancellor, the address of the University of Oxford; but on the eighteenth of September, the Viscount Townshend, one of the Secretaries of State, waited on him to inform him that the King had no further occasion for his services in the capacity of Commander in Chief, but would always be glad to see him at Court. He now retired into privacy till the meeting of Parliament in 1715, when to the utter astonishment of all people, on the twenty-first of June, he was impeached of high treason in the House of Commons by Mr. Secretary Stanhope, and the House resolving to that effect, Ormond, warned by the fury with which the new Whig ministry were then prosecuting Oxford and Bolingbroke, and in compliance, as has been said, with the earnest advice of Bishop Atterbury, passed over privately, on the eighth of August, into France, and on the twentieth of that month was attainted; his estates forfeited: his honours extinguished; and a reward of ten thousand pounds offered for his apprehension. Such were the terrible penalties inflicted on him for having executed orders which he would probably have been charged with high treason for disobeying. On his arrival in France, he immediately threw himself into the arms of the great person who was then called the Pretender, to whose interests he had probably, in common with several others of Anne's faithful servants, and perhaps with her knowledge, been long somewhat favourable, and to whom he now became sincerely attached. Of his transactions in the affairs of that person some account may be found, too long, and perhaps too unimportant, to be here given, in Lord Bolingbroke's "Letter to Sir William Wyndham." Of his story, after his flight from England, nothing more I believe is to be found, except that he finally settled at Avignon, where he lived for many years, on a pension of two thousand pistoles from the King of Spain, and died, at the age of eighty-one, on the sixteenth of November, 1745, when his body was brought to England, and deposited in his family vault in Henry the Seventh's chapel, in Westminster Abbey.

Macky, in his "Characters of the Court of Great Britain," written when the Duke was in the prime of life, says of him—"He governs in Ireland with more affection from the people, and his Court is in the greatest splendor, ever known in that country. He certainly is one of the most generous, princely, brave, men that ever was, but good natured to a fault; loves glory and consequently is crouded with flatterers; never knew how to refuse any body, which was the reason why he obtained so little from King William, asking for every body. He hath all the qualities of a great man, except one of a statesman, hating business; loving, and is beloved by, the ladies; of a low stature, but well shaped; a good mien and address; a fair complexion, and very beautiful face. He is about forty years old."

Swift, writing almost in the hour of his prosecution, gives his character at greater length, and with a more manly seriousness:—"The attainder," says he, "of the Duke of Ormond neither I, nor I believe any one person in the three kingdoms, did ever pretend to foresee; and, now it is done, it looks like a dream to those who will consider the nobleness of his birth; the great merits of his ancestors, and his own; his long unspotted loyalty; his affability, generosity, and sweetness of nature. I knew him long and well; and, excepting the frailties of his youth, which had been for some time over, and that easiness of temper, which did sometimes lead him to follow the judgement of those who had, by many degrees, less understanding than himself, I have not conversed with a more faultless person: of great justice and charity; a true sense of religion, without ostentation; of undoubted valour; thoroughly skilled in his trade of a soldier; a quick and ready apprehension, with a good share of understanding, and a general knowledge of men and history, although under some disadvantage by an invincible modesty, which however could not but render him yet more amiable to those who had the honour and happiness of being thoroughly acquainted with him. This is a short imperfect character of that great person, the Duke of Ormond, who is now attainted for high treason, and therefore I shall not presume to offer one syllable in his vindication upon that head, against the decision of a Parliament. Yet this I think may be allowed me to believe, or at least to hope—that when, by the direct and repeated commands of the Queen, his mistress, he committed those faults for which he hath now forfeited his country, his titles, and his fortune, he no more conceived himself to be acting high treason than he did when he was wounded, and a prisoner in London, for his Sovereign, King William, or when he took and burned the enemy's fleet at Vigo."

The Duke of Ormond married, first, Anne, eldest daughter of Laurence Hyde, first Earl of Rochester of his family, who died young, and childless; secondly, Mary, eldest surviving daughter of Henry Somerset, first Duke of Beaufort, by whom he had an only son, Thomas, who died in infancy; as did three daughters, Mary, Emilia, and Henrietta; another Mary, who was married to John, first Lord Ashburnham; and Elizabeth, who died a spinster, in 1750.



Engraved by H. Robinson.

ROBERT WALPOLE, EARL OF ORFORD.

OB. 1746.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF JARVIS, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THOMAS WALPOLE ESQ^{RE}

London, Published Aug^{t} 1 1832: by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

ROBERT WALPOLE,

FIRST EARL OF ORFORD.

SIR Robert Walpole, perhaps the most able and honest, and certainly one of the most consistent, statesmen of his time, sprung from a long line of powerful and wealthy ancestors who had been for many centuries seated at Houghton, in the county of Norfolk, where he was born on the twenty-sixth of August, 1676, the third son of Robert Walpole, of that place, by Mary, only daughter and heir of Sir Geoffery Burwell, of Rougham, in Suffolk.

Neither the circumstances of his family, respectable as they were, nor his own position in it, at the time of his birth, afforded any prospect of his attaining to the important and dignified station which awaited him, for he was the third son among nineteen children. He was designed therefore for the profession of the law, and received such an education, first at Eton, and afterwards at King's College, Cambridge, where he was admitted a scholar in 1696, as was thought fit to qualify him for it: his two elder brothers however dying in their youth within two years after, he became heir apparent to his father, on whose death, in the year 1700, he succeeded to the family estates, estimated at two thousand pounds annually, as well as to the representation of the borough of Castlerising, in his native county, for which his father had sat in Parliament for several years, ending at his decease. He married too, a few months after, a wealthy city heiress; and now, finding himself at a very early age in a state of the most ample independence, it remained only for him to determine on his future course. The choice was readily made. He already possessed all that is usually esteemed valuable in human life, except fame, and for that a very short experience in Parliament excited in him an eager appetite. He presently resolved to devote himself to public business, for which indeed he is said to have evinced, at a very early age, a remarkable inclination and aptitude.

During the two sessions which next followed his election we hear little of him beyond that he applied himself constantly to the ordinary business of the House, especially on all matters that related to the affairs of his own county. That he was diligent however appears certain from the fact that he was often appointed a teller on important occasions, particularly on the divisions connected with the impeachment of Lord Somers; but he had hitherto given no indication of the faculties which afterwards so eminently distinguished him. St. John, not yet raised to the Peerage, who had been his rival at school, and long engrossed the admiration of the House by his brilliant talents, and captivating powers of oratory; and Walpole, anxious to emulate his success, determined to attempt a competition, but the first essay made by him produced a failure so lamentable as to create a general impression among his friends that he would never gain the attention of Parliament. The ascendancy of the whig party, to which he had from the beginning attached himself, having been established in the latter years of William's reign, that of Queen Anne opened under their direct influence, and Walpole suddenly and unexpectedly became important to them. Little discouraged by the ill success of his first attempts, he now became a frequent debater; soon gained that facility of speaking for which he afterwards became remarkable; and, no longer aiming at decorative eloquence, presently commanded the respect of his auditors by the force of his arguments, and the manly simplicity of expression in which he couched them.

In 1705 he was appointed one of the Council to Prince George of Denmark, for his office of Lord High Admiral. Some gross abuses in the management of the navy had provoked very general dissatisfaction, and the whigs were among the loudest in their complaints of its mal-administration. The task of defending the ministry against any imputations on this score was put on Walpole, and, although the execution of it was necessarily opposed to the great body of the party with which he had acted, he acquitted himself with a boldness, and even vehemence, which recommended him powerfully to the favour of the government, and with a dexterity which in a great measure disarmed the resentment of his party. A more difficult office awaited him—that of endeavouring to reconcile the Treasurer Godolphin to the whigs, whom he hated, and by whom he was distrusted. It was entirely through his efforts that a concord so desirable was accomplished, and for this, and other services and kindnesses, as well in private as in public life, Godolphin entertained a gratitude which ended only with his life, for in his last hours he earnestly recommended Walpole to the protection and patronage of the favourite Duchess of Marlborough. In 1708, he succeeded St. John in the office of Secretary at War, and, in the following year, was appointed Treasurer of the Navy. He defended the Duke of Marlborough with great ability and zeal against the charges of the Earl of Peterborough, and in the ill-advised impeachment of Sacheverell acted as one of the managers for the Commons.

The intrigues of Harley, and his instrument, Mrs. Masham, who had now supplanted the Duchess of Marlborough in the Queen's favour, aided by the dissension and want of confidence which prevailed among the chief members of the government, effected that which could have been accomplished by scarcely any other means: the whig administration was overthrown, and Walpole retired from office somewhat later than his colleagues, and not until Harley had found him proof equally against his offers and his threats. He then threw himself openly into the ranks of the opposition, and by his able and animated defence of his friend Godolphin, as well in the House of Commons, in reply to St. John's charges on the displaced Treasurer of mal-administration of the finances, as by a most powerful pamphlet to the same effect, proved himself so formidable an antagonist to the party then in office that they resolved, since they could not purchase his silence, to strive to destroy his reputation. He was accused of venality and corruption in his character of Secretary at War in the management of certain forage contracts. On the seventeenth of January, 1711, he was heard in his defence, and, after a long and warm debate, in which his enemies exerted all their talents and influence against him, it was resolved by small majorities that he should be expelled, and committed to the Tower of London. On the following morning he surrendered himself, and was sent to the Tower, where he remained till the eighth of the following July.

His constitutional intrepidity, a conviction that he had been unjustly persecuted, and, more perhaps than all, a confident belief that the discordant elements of the existing administration could not long hold together, kept up his spirits under his imprisonment; while the countenance and congratulations of his friends gave an air of triumph to that which had been contrived for his disgrace and ruin. He was immediately returned for Lynn, which he had represented in the preceding Parliament, but the House of Commons resolved that his expulsion had rendered him ineligible. His restraint was of short duration, for the Parliament was dissolved in the following August. His time had been fully employed in the interval: he had now engaged so deeply in politics, and had imbibed so strong a relish for the excitement which belongs to them, that neither danger nor disappointment could check him in the pursuit. While in the Tower he had published a satisfactory justification of himself, and he now engaged with Sir Richard Steele in the composition of several political pamphlets for the purpose of repelling some of the misrepresentations of the party in power, and of rousing the public feeling against them. The most powerful of these was entitled " A short History of the Parliament"—a piece full of danger to the writer; and indeed, as Walpole himself said on a subsequent occasion, " the author of that history was so apprehensive of the consequences of printing it, that the press was carried to his own house, and the copies printed there."

He was again returned for Lynn, in the Parliament which met in February, 1714, and, by the acuteness of his mind, the vigour and boldness of his eloquence, and his extensive knowledge as well of public business as of the men by whom it was conducted, he presently became the chief leader of the opposition, and the most formidable of the foes of the government. It was chiefly by his exertions that the whigs were kept together at a time when the success of their opponents might have daunted a less constant spirit. His courage dispelled their dejection, while his frank convivial disposition, and his profuse hospitality, even at the hazard of the ruin of his private fortune, procured him their personal regard, and with their private their political confidence. One of his happiest displays in Parliament at this period was his defence of Steele, when his pamphlets entitled "the Crisis," and "the Englishman," were voted seditious libels by the House of Commons. Walpole's speech on that occasion is an admirable exhibition of the decorous whig principles of his time.

The death of Queen Anne brought about the extinction of that power which the tories had almost absolutely possessed during the last four years of her reign. On the accession of George the first, the exertions of the friends to the Protestant succession, in which no man had taken a more decided and active part than Walpole, were without delay acknowledged and rewarded by the new King. All the offices of the government were divided among them, and, though some held a higher rank, the power of none was greater than that of Walpole, and Lord Townshend, Secretary of State, who was not only his relation in blood, but had married his sister. He was appointed Paymaster of the Navy immediately on the King's arrival, and soon after appeared in the station of ministerial leader in the House of Commons, which indeed no one but himself was then qualified to fill. In that character he carried on the prosecutions of the Lords Oxford and Bolingbroke, and the Duke of Ormond, with great ability, and with an earnestness which savoured perhaps as much of a pardonable personal vengeance as of indignation at the faults and errors of which the late ministry was accused. The times indeed required all the energy, as well as all the talent, of a mind like his to steer the vessel of the state through the dangers by which it was surrounded. The dissatisfaction of the Tory and Jacobite parties, the hostile influence of France, the appearance in England of the son of James the second, and the rebellion which ensued in Scotland upon that event, called for the most bold and decisive measures here, and the call was not less wisely than promptly met by Walpole. The stern inflexibility with which he insisted on the punishment of the rebel Lords has often been alledged as a charge of cruelty against him, but the circumstances of the time must be admitted to have justified, as much as they admitted of justification, the measures which were then resorted to; and certainly cruelty was not among the faults of his nature.

The uncontrolled vigour and power with which he conducted the affairs of that eventful year were doubtless in great measure to be ascribed to his being now actually at the head of the administration. He had been, on the tenth of October, 1715, appointed first Lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer. This pre-eminence was however of no long duration. The absence of the King, who went to Hanover in the following summer; the jealousies which found their way into the ministry, and presently ripened into dissensions; and the rapacity and intrigues of what was called the German party, who considered England as a mine of wealth now first opened to them; rendered the station at once painful and precarious. The misunderstanding which soon after arose between his Majesty and the Heir Apparent, and the management of the Earl of Sunderland, who soon after obtained the office of principal Secretary of State, and then that of first Lord of the Treasury, at length determined the power of the ministers; and, just at the time when the able schemes of

Townshend for establishing the foreign relations of the country on a secure basis were brought to their accomplishment, and when Walpole had supplied a simple and efficacious measure for restoring the finances of the country, the cabals of their enemies triumphed. Townshend was dismissed, and Walpole resigned his offices, in spite of the King's urgent, and even passionate, persuasions. The most influential members of the administration followed his example, and he once more became a member of the opposition.

The stern vehemence which he now assumed in this character; the undisguised contempt which he expressed of his enemies; and, above all, his bold avowal of faults, and great ones too, with which from time to time they upbraided him; were so many proofs of his full consciousness not only of his own powers, but of the ascendancy which they proudly held. Sunderland felt that he was sinking under it, and was compelled, in a manner, to implore his assistance. Overtures were made to him, and to Townshend, without whom he would not have engaged, and were accepted. The first merely resumed his former post of Paymaster-general of the Army. He took no active part in the affairs of the government, but retired to Houghton to recruit his health, which had suffered from his late exertions, and perhaps to arrange the steps towards another change, which it is not unlikely was already meditated by him. He was not however otherwise unemployed: in his treaty with the new ministers, Sunderland had insisted that he should abstain from all interference in the painful and unseemly difference between the King and the Prince of Wales, to whom he had in some measure engaged his services. Walpole not only steadily and honourably refused, but undisguisedly redoubled his efforts to reconcile the royal parties, and was at length completely successful. The destructive scheme which is known by the name of the South-sea Bubble was soon afterwards exposed, and brought on the country that general distress which he had truly predicted when it was first proposed. In the sudden and general dismay which now spread throughout the country the eyes of all men were turned to him, then justly acknowledged the most able master of finance that had ever appeared in public business, for some remedy for the evils which prevailed. He was hastily called to town, and, while the means he recommended fully justified the general opinion of his profound judgement, they were as much distinguished by moderation as ingenuity. He devised a plan for engrafting into the Bank and East India stocks a large portion of the debt which had been contracted by the South Sea Company; and, having thus quieted the public mind, and staved off the difficulties which pressed upon the country, he displayed a noble magnanimity in extricating Sunderland, and Stanhope, now at the head of the Treasury, who had been of late his most implacable foes, from the consequences into which their own imprudence, and the contrivances of the projectors of the scheme, had plunged them. His temporary retreat was distinguished too by the invention of some measures for the benefit of commerce which will ever be remembered with gratitude by those of that interest.

His popularity, before very considerable, was raised to the highest by these circumstances, and the public opinion of the Ministry had sunk in a more than equal proportion. The influence of his party in Parliament was no longer doubtful; Stanhope was saved by death from the discredit of dismission; and, on the fourth of April, 1721, Walpole was restored to his appointments of first Commissioner of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer, and his friend and former coadjutor, Townshend, to that of Secretary of State. His services had been so eminently advantageous to the nation, not to mention the degree of royal favour in which he personally stood, that the King now proposed to raise him to the peerage, but the incomparable dexterity with which he managed the House of Commons rendered it inexpedient that he should quit his post there in the actual state of the country; the proffered dignity was therefore conferred on his eldest son, who, on the tenth of June, 1723, was created Baron Walpole, of

Walpole, in Norfolk, by a patent which, referring to the services of the father, stated that "he rather chose to merit the highest titles than to wear them." He accepted however the order of the Bath, on its revival in 1725; and, in the following year, that of the Garter, the highest honour that can be held by a Commoner, was conferred on him.

Walpole's love of peace has been, and not unjustly, identified with his very name. A favourable opportunity offering at this period of obtaining a permanency of that blessing by a treaty with France, he seems, instead of intrusting it to Townshend, in whose department it properly lay, to have taken the management of it mostly on himself, and therefore to have made his brother, Horace Walpole, the immediate instrument of the negotiation. Cardinal Fleury, actuated by a policy not less pacific, heartily coincided. The progress of the treaty was marked by a candour and good faith most rare in diplomacy, and the result proved not only the sovereign efficacy of those attributes in their application to public policy, but also the incontrovertible fact that the powers of England and France, steadily and sincerely united, would ever be irresistible. It was in 1727 that the peace of Europe was thus established. The exiled and attainted Bolingbroke, who was then resident in France, and who secretly opposed, while he affected to aid in forwarding, the fruition of these great arrangements, in the hope of obtaining a complete amnesty, was now in part gratified: Walpole not only assented to but procured his qualified restoration. He determined however that this great bad man should not resume his place in the country with untarnished honour; and, by keeping the attainder still in force against him, drove him to take a part in politics after his return which effectually prevented the possibility of his ever again sharing in the councils of the government. Bolingbroke became accordingly his most implacable, and far from impotent, enemy.

Walpole was in the plenitude of his power, and royal favour, when the sudden death of George the first seemed to threaten the extinction of both. The new King had not only in a great measure withdrawn his confidence from the minister, but had transferred it to William Pulteney, who, after several years of early friendship, had conceived, from some political slights, the most bitter and lasting resentment against him, which he had gratified by introducing Bolingbroke also to the royal ear. The reception which Walpole experienced on his first appearance at Court was so mortifying as to leave scarcely a doubt that his dismissal was resolved on, and here his dexterity and prompt decision seem to have saved him from the impending danger. He was, as might be expected, speedily and accurately informed of all that occurred about the Court, and, having learned that the Queen had applied on the subject of her jointure to Sir Spencer Compton, who had promised his exertions to get it fixed at fifty or sixty thousand pounds, Walpole adroitly introduced the subject in an early audience, and induced her to ask his opinion as to the probable amount. He replied that, with respect to her merits, and the obligations the country owed to her, it ought to be left to her dictation; but he added that, considering the public distress, the losses which had been sustained, and the burthens caused by the late war, he feared he should be unable to obtain for her a larger annual income than one hundred thousand pounds. This well-timed suggestion had its full effect. Her Majesty's influence over the King was most extensive; and, within ten days after he had been treated by that Prince with open contempt, he was re-appointed first Lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer.

He was now in the possession of a larger share of power than any other subject in the realm. He had however to contend with an opposition formidable for its numbers, and yet more for the talent which it combined. Bolingbroke, who, as a debater or a writer, was very superior to Walpole in natural and acquired talents, gave energy and effect to the attacks which the Tories and the Jacobites, the latter consisting for the most part of country gentlemen whose influence was very considerable, directed against the ministry. Pulteney headed such of the Whigs as were discontented with Walpole's recent conduct. The minister knew that such foes were neither to be contemned nor defied, and therefore, while he made head against their attacks in public, he employed arts more secret and more certain, to win over such as might be induced boldly and openly to change sides, and to neutralize others, who would not venture to brave, although they did not scruple to deserve, the public reproach for their baseness. His success in this sort of policy even surpassed his own expectation, and is said to have produced in him the opinion that public virtue was a mere pretence, and that, whatever might be sometimes the seeming firmness of the principles and conduct of men, there was a price at which almost every individual might be bought.

Thus Walpole maintained the power which he had obtained, and was enabled to realise the plans which he had devised for the peace of the country, and the restoration of its impoverished resources. His increasing influence at length excited the jealousy of his coadjutor, Townshend. It first produced a mutual decay of confidence; frequent bickerings followed; and at length a quarrel on a point of foreign negotiation, attended by disgraceful circumstances, even of personal violence, occurred in the presence of the Duke of Newcastle, and others of high rank. The story of this indecent contest got abroad, and the careless wit of Gay dramatized it with irresistible ridicule in the recriminatory scene between Peachum and Lockit, in the Beggar's Opera. Lord Townshend's retirement from office soon followed.

Sir Robert Walpole first devised and put into practice the scheme of a sinking fund, for the reduction of the national debt, and, as soon as it had attained to a respectable amount, yielded to the temptation which it offered, and proposed its appropriation to the service of the current year. Another, and one of the most important of his financial operations was the amendment of the excise laws, and the simplification of that material branch of the revenue. He proposed also to convert the customs into duties of excise, but the pains taken to excite the popular dislike to the measure were so successful that he was compelled to abandon it. This failure inspired his enemies with sanguine hopes of displacing him, but his genius again prevailed, and the defeat with which he had been threatened fell on his antagonists. His greatest triumph however was in the success with which he brought about the general pacification of 1733, when the elements of war surrounded him on all sides, and when the smallest departure from the strictly consistent course he had prescribed to himself, the slightest wavering of resolution, would inevitably have produced the consequences he so carefully endeavoured to avoid.

A misunderstanding now, as in the late reign, unfortunately occurred between the reigning King and the Prince of Wales, and became, as the former had been, the source of an opposition to the government. The Prince's taste led him to cultivate the acquaintance of men of parts and accomplishments, and a society was formed of which his Royal Highness was nominally the leader, but of which the restless Bolingbroke, Pulteney, Sir William Wyndham, and some younger men, who afterwards attained to eminent distinction, were the active members. They were all opposed to the minister, and, by their advice and example, suggested to the Prince a line of conduct so imprudent and unbecoming that the breach between him and the King soon assumed a serious aspect. Walpole at first endeavoured to reconcile the difference, and it was not till he had wholly failed to effect this object that he resorted to more decided measures, which secured to him the favour of the King, but involved him in the open enmity of the Prince of Wales. At the end of the year 1737 Queen Caroline, who had certainly entertained a high personal regard for Walpole, died, and from that hour the lofty state of the minister's power gradually declined.

Foreign affairs assumed soon after an aspect altogether adverse to his favourite policy. The jealousy with which Spain insisted on the exclusive advantages of the South American commerce, and the pertinacious efforts of the English traders to participate in it, gave rise to differences which soon assumed an hostile character. Some English vessels had been seized, and others plundered under the pretence of a right of search, and the severities exercised on the captains and crews raised a popular feeling against Spain which could not be allayed. The opposition eagerly availed themselves of the pretext thus afforded. Petitions were poured into the House of Commons, and the captain of a trading vessel was brought to the bar to state that one of his ears had been wantonly cut off by a Spaniard by whom his ship had been captured, and such became the public excitement, that tales far less probable gained an easy credit with the million. Walpole laboured earnestly to prevent the impending rupture; to engage Spain in a treaty; and to convince the Commons that nothing could be more adverse to the true interest of the country than to enter upon a war. His efforts however were vain. In addition to the popular cry, within and without the walls of Parliament, the King had now manifested his inclination to settle the contention rather by the sword than by negotiation. In 1739 a war was declared with Spain, and Walpole became only nominally minister.

The remainder of his political life was but a series of reverses and mortifications. His adherents gradually fell off; he was compelled to admit to a share of his power men who used it only to annoy and betray him; and he felt that the moments chosen by his enemies to put into practice their machinations against him were precisely those in which his failing strength rendered him least able to cope with them. In the bitterness of his heart he complained in council that he was thwarted on every side, and unable to execute measures of the expediency of which he was convinced. At length a motion was made in the House of Commons for an address to the King to dismiss him, by Mr. Sandys, who prefaced it by an elaborate speech filled, of course, with the bitterest imputations and censures. Walpole's reply was one of the most able, and, now that the feelings which then lent a false colour to men's professions have subsided, one of the most satisfactory, that ever was uttered in Parliament. The falsehood of some of the accusations, the staleness of others, and the absurdity of the pretence that, in a government like ours, a minister is to be held personally responsible for all that may have gone wrong through a long series of years, were so grossly apparent that only party spirit, in its wildest mood, could have resorted to them.

Walpole's secure ground of defence was his innocence; but the perfect knowledge he possessed of the character of his assailants, and of the usual effect of the biting sarcasms which he had been so long used to launch against them, gave him advantages that might have made even the worse appear the better cause. There is a part of his speech, where he replied to the pretence of patriotic feeling under which this great attack on him was masked, the point of which is not weakened, though the occasion that excited it has so long passed away—" Gentlemen," said he in a tone of indignant satire, " have talked much of patriotism; a venerable word! but I am sorry to say that of late it has been so hackneyed about that it is in danger of falling into disgrace. The very idea of true patriotism is lost, and the term has been prostituted to the worst of purposes. A patriot, sir—why patriots spring up like mushrooms: I could raise fifty of them within twenty-four hours. I have raised many of them in one night. It is but refusing to gratify an unreasonable or an insolent demand, and up starts a patriot. I have never been afraid of making patriots; but I disdain and despise all their efforts; for this pretended virtue proceeds from personal malice, and from disappointed ambition. There is not a man among them whose particular aim I am not able to ascertain, and from what motive he has entered into the lists of opposition."

The motion was negatived, chiefly through the secession of that most incorruptible Jacobite, " honest Will Shippen," who, with thirty-four of the party headed by him, quitted the House, and refused to vote on the question. The result however was that all the world saw, and the minister clearer than others, that his influence was extinct. He soon after found himself occasionally in minorities, and unable to carry on the business of the government. His health failed; his command of temper, and his capacity for exertion were diminished; and, after many struggles between his feelings and his judgement, he reluctantly determined to retire from public life. On the ninth of February, 1742, he was created Earl of Orford, and on the eleventh surrendered his offices. The King, who now knew and duly appreciated his services, and who had the most implicit reliance on his talents, was as unwilling to receive as Walpole to tender his resignation. When the necessities of the public business forced this measure upon him, George the Second expressed his regret with unaffected kindness, and hopes that, although he was deprived of the minister's active exertions, he should yet have the advantage of his advice on important occasions. The interview in which this conversation occurred was marked by more real feeling than such scenes commonly display. The King shed tears, and the minister was so overcome by his emotion that when he had knelt to kiss his master's hand he was unable for some minutes to rise from that posture.

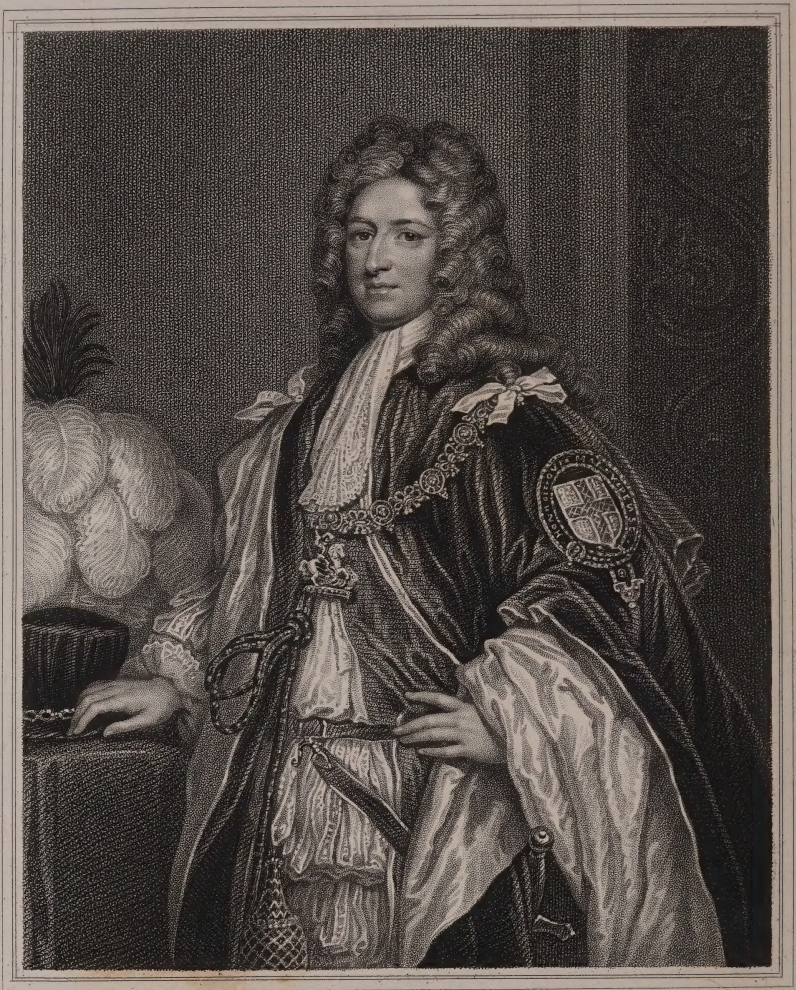
With the loss of office he lost not the cares which had been connected with it. The late proceedings of his enemies had convinced him that their animosity would be appeased only by his total ruin, and, in order to evade the result of the reserved attack, he earnestly employed himself in endeavouring to disunite the opposition, and to form a whig administration, to be headed by his old antagonist, Pulteney. Walpole's address and exertions overcame the obstacles which opposed themselves to this plan, but the new ministry was no sooner arranged than he was accused in the House of Commons of various crimes and misconduct in his office. A parliamentary enquiry was resolved on by a majority only of seven, and a secret committee of his most notorious enemies were appointed to conduct it. The prosecution was carried on with equal virulence and injustice, till cut short by impediments too numerous, and too complicated to be here explained; and an attempt was made to revive it in the succeeding session, but instantly negatived. The King's confidence in his old servant was in no degree shaken by these attacks. His Majesty was engaged in frequent communications with him, chiefly carried on secretly in correspondence by letters, which were mutually returned. The King not only solicited, but generally adopted, the advice given by Lord Orford, and it was chiefly by him that the Pelham administration was formed in the summer of 1743.

He now retired to Houghton, with a broken spirit and constitution, intending to pass the remainder of his life in the privacy which those infirmities required; but, on the news of the invasion of 1745 the King sent for him, and though he was then suffering under an attack of a nephritic complaint which had long afflicted him, he came by slow journies to London, and in a speech which he made in the House of Peers displayed all the force and fervour which had graced his happiest efforts on former occasions. These exertions however, joined to the injudicious use of a quack medicine, in the hope of removing their consequences, so aggravated his disease, that, after lingering for a few months, in a state of torment which was only capable of relief by continual doses of opium, he died on the eighteenth of March, 1746, N. S. at his house in Arlington Street, and was buried at Houghton.

Of Lord Orford's private life, if the expression may be properly used respecting a man who scarcely existed but in a public character, little is to be said, He was of imperturbable good temper: addicted to the pleasures of the table in a greater degree than most of his contemporaries of his own rank, even in those days, when such excesses were universally indulged in; and is said to have been better satisfied with a reputation for gallantry, of all reputations the most easily raised, and the least worth earning, than for the exalted qualities which he unquestionably possessed.

We have been told by some that he had a vulgar love of expence, without any true notions of magnificence; that he collected pictures, at immense cost, without either taste or love for the arts; and that, although he had been in his early life fond of literature, he was so unhappy as to survive that inclination, and to have regretted in his latter days that he no longer found any enjoyment in intellectual pursuits. He has left a name identified with one of the most interesting portions of the modern history of his country, and a reputation altogether brilliant, but for the adventitious stains which sometimes fell on its surface in his unavoidable contact with the baseness of others.

He married, first, Catherine, daughter and heir of Sir John Shorter, a wealthy merchant, by whom he had three sons, and one daughter: Robert, his successor; Sir Edward, a Knight of the Bath; Horace, who, in his old age, succeeded his nephew George, and became fourth Earl, but who will ever be better remembered as the greatest master of elegant literature of his time; and Mary, married to George, fourth Earl of Cholmondeley. His second Lady was Maria, daughter and heir of Thomas Skerret. By her he had issue one daughter, born before marriage, to whom the rights of legitimacy, and the rank of an Earl's daughter, were specially granted by King George the second. She became the wife of Charles Churchill, a Colonel in the army.



Engraved by W. Holl.

CHARLES SEYMOUR, DUKE OF SOMERSET.

OB. 1748.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF KNELLER, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON$^{\text{BLE}}$ THE EARL OF EGREMONT.

London, Published Oct$^{\text{r}}$ 1. 1835, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

CHARLES SEYMOUR,

SIXTH DUKE OF SOMERSET.

This great Peer, whose constant endeavours in a time of altered feelings and fashions to maintain his claim to those forms of deep respect which in the preceding age flowed, as it were naturally, towards the heads of the aristocracy, had obtained for him the appellation of the proud Duke of Somerset, was the second surviving son of Charles Lord Seymour of Trowbridge (first cousin to John, the fourth, and last, Duke of the elder line), by his second lady, Elizabeth, daughter of William, Lord Allington of Wymondley, and was born on the twelfth of August, 1662. He succeeded to the superb titles and estates of his family in 1678, on the death of his elder brother, Francis, who was assassinated at Lerici, in the Genoese territory, when he had just attained the age of twenty-one. With the circumstances of his very early life, we are unacquainted, knowing only that he studied in the university of Cambridge. A splendid alliance was arranged for him, and celebrated in his minority; for, on the thirtieth of May, 1682, he was married to Elizabeth, only daughter and sole heir of Josceline Percy, eleventh and last Earl of Northumberland of the original male line, a lady of whom it was said that she had been thrice a wife, and twice a widow, before she had passed her sixteenth year. She had indeed been already affianced, first, to the only son of Henry Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle, Henry Earl of Ogle, who died in childhood; and then to Mr. Thynne, whose life was in the preceding year sacrificed to his successful suit for her favour, by the well known horrible murther perpetrated in Pall Mall, by a disappointed pretender to her hand, Count Coningsmark, and his associates.

He accepted the office of a Lord of the Bedchamber from King

Charles the second, who about the same time gave him the command of the third regiment of dragoons, and, on the first of January, 1684, invested him with the ensigns of the Garter. On the death of that Prince, which occurred about a year after, James continued him in his appointments, and called him to the Privy Council, in which he had sat also in the former reign. When Monmouth appeared in arms, in Somersetshire, the Duke hastened thither, and placed himself at the head of the militia of the county, but the ephemeral fate of that wild rebellion rendered his services unnecessary.

Few of the great nobility stood higher in the royal favour than himself, when a circumstance somewhat singular suddenly deprived him of it. James, among the concluding follies of his short reign, had determined to receive in the face of the country a public minister from the Pope, and Ferdinand d'Adda, who had been about James's Court for some years; was the Queen's favourite priest; and had long privately managed the chief papal affairs in England; was chosen for that office. But the King was not satisfied with this degree of imprudence—he resolved to grace the embassy with peculiar honours; and d'Adda, having been first pompously consecrated an Archbishop, in the royal chapel of Whitehall, was conducted with great ceremony to Windsor Castle, to his first audience of the King and Queen, in the character of Nuncio. The Duke happened to be then in his turn of waiting, and it was therefore his office to usher the minister into their presence; this he positively refused, though twice urged to it by James himself, who, in vehement anger, immediately dismissed him from his appointments. Two whig historians, generally in happy agreement, differ much as to the Duke's motives, to this denial. Kennet says that " this illustrious patriot resigned without the least concern, as being abundantly satisfied that he kept his conscience and his honour, while he lost nothing but his places." Burnet tells us that " he had advised with his lawyers, and they told him he could not safely do the part that was expected of him in the audience." This was caution, not conscience. In the last days of this unhappy reign, he was elected Chancellor of the University of Cambridge.

He was one of the Peers who offered their services to the Prince of Orange immediately on his arrival, but seems to have held no public office under him till the last year of his reign, when he was appointed President of the Council, and was one of the Lords Justices to whom William committed the Government during his final visit to Holland. On the accession of Anne, he was called to the Privy Council, and was one of the five noblemen nominated by that Princess to examine the papers of the deceased King, and, on the third of July, in the same year, 1702, was placed in the post of Master of the Horse, which he held till 1712. In 1708 he was one of the commissioners for the great affair of the Union, and in 1710 was largely concerned in bringing about that change of administration which emancipated the Queen from the thraldom in which she had been so long held by the Duchess of Marlborough and the whigs. "The Duke of Somerset," says Burnet, "had very much alienated the Queen from the old ministry, and had no small share in their disgrace; but he was so displeased with the dissolution of Parliament, and the new model of the ministry, that, though he continued some time Master of the Horse, he refused to sit any more in Council, and complained openly of the artifices that had been used to make him instrumental to other people's designs, which he did, among others, to myself."

This nobleman, however, as became his exalted station, seems to have acted always independently of party, and to have interfered little in the direction of public affairs. In two other instances in this reign, we trace, it is true, important consequences from his resolute conduct in the Council—in 1708, when his steady refusal, in the Queen's presence, to enter on the consideration of the affairs of Europe, in the absence of the Commander in chief, Marlborough, produced Harley's resignation; and agian on the thirtieth of July, 1714, when the unexpected and uncalled for appearance at the Board, of himself and the Duke of Argyle, a few hours before the Queen's death, interrupted the deliberations of the Jacobite majority, and perhaps secured the succession to the House of Hanover. On her Majesty's decease King George the first included him in the list of eminent persons to whom he committed the government till his arrival in England, on which the Duke was immediately sworn of the Privy Council, and shortly after restored to the place of Master of the Horse, which however he resigned in the autumn of the succeeding year, on his security being declined for the good conduct of his son in law, Sir William Wyndham, who was suspected of treasonable correspondence. After this he never held any public appointment either in the Court or State, except that he was again a Privy Counsellor in the following reign.

The Princes whom he served, and their ministers, seem to have been fully aware of his taste for pompous show and dignified ceremony, and studious to gratify it, for he was almost invariably appointed to act a principal part in every grand public solemnity which occurred during his life, and the loftiness of his temper and habits, the most exact high breeding, and a fine person and countenance, combined to qualify him peculiarly for such offices. Of his excessive haughtiness in private life a multitude of instances, for the most part unworthy of being here repeated, have been preserved. We are told that his second Duchess, who will be presently mentioned, having once familiarly tapped him on the shoulder with her fan, he started, and cried, with great indignation, "Madam my first wife was a Percy, and she never took such a liberty." He exacted too the most profound respect from his children. It was one of the offices of his two youngest daughters to watch him in turn while he slept after dinner, but they were to stand without intermission. Indulging one afternoon in a longer portion of repose than usual, the fair centinel became fatigued, and took a chair, when the Duke suddenly awaking, and finding her seated, severely reprimanded her, and told her that he would make her remember her disobedience. He left twenty thousand pounds less to her than to her sister, and this has been, it is to be hoped falsely, ascribed to his resentment of that offence. His communication with his servants is said to have been conducted by signs, in perfect silence. He employed a multitude of people in repairing bye-roads near his country seats that he might not be liable, in his airings, to obstruction or observation. Meanwhile he was not less punctual in conceding to the few who could justly claim them at his hands those rights of which when due to himself he was so tenacious. The facetious Sir James Delaval betted a thousand pounds that he would make the Duke give place to him. Having gained information when his Grace would pass a piece of narrow road on his way to London, he waited there in a coach, covered with the armorial ensigns, and attended by several servants in the livery, of the head of the House of Howard. These, when Somerset approached, cried out, "My Lord Duke of Norfolk;" when the junior Duke hastily ordering his coachman to run his near horses and wheels into a ditch, made room for Delaval to pass, who, bowing, wishing his Grace a good morning—but enough, if not too much, of these characteristic trifles.

His lady died in 1722, and the Duke, after a widowhood of three years, married, in his grand climacteric, Charlotte, second daughter of Daniel Finch, Earl of Winchilsea and Nottingham. From that period he lived almost wholly in the country, residing chiefly at his mansion of Petworth, in Sussex, now the seat of his great grandson, the Earl of Egremont. In this retirement his objects and his pursuits seem gradually to have narrowed and dwindled into a constant series of efforts to prolong a life which, especially to one of his character, had teemed with so many blessings. Among the papers of Sir Hans Sloane, preserved in the British Museum, are numerous letters from the Duke and Duchess, and their attendants, to that celebrated physician, chiefly on the state of his Grace's health, marked by an anxiety so intense and so extravagant as to be at once ridiculous and deplorable. Many of them are to press the Doctor for remedies for a deafness that vexed him, the cause of which he seems at last himself shrewdly to have guessed, for, in the year 1737, when he was seventy-five, the Duchess thus concludes a long letter to Sir Hans—“ My Lord desires his most humble service to you. He continues with thickness of hearing, which puts him in the spleen, fearing it proceeds from old age. He has been very seldom out of the house, and keeps his ears stopt with black wooll, dipt in oyl of vipers, mixt sometimes with palsy drops, sometimes with spirit of castor, and sometimes dipt only in oyl of bitter almonds, but does not find advantage from either.”

I will add the following letter from himself, chiefly for the sake of the last paragraph, in which the solicitude that he expresses for an insignificant stranger who seems to have treated him with negligence, if not rudeness, strongly argues that his pride had no mixture of unfeelingness or ill temper—

“ Pettworth, Jan. 31, 17$\frac{33}{67}$.

“ Sir,

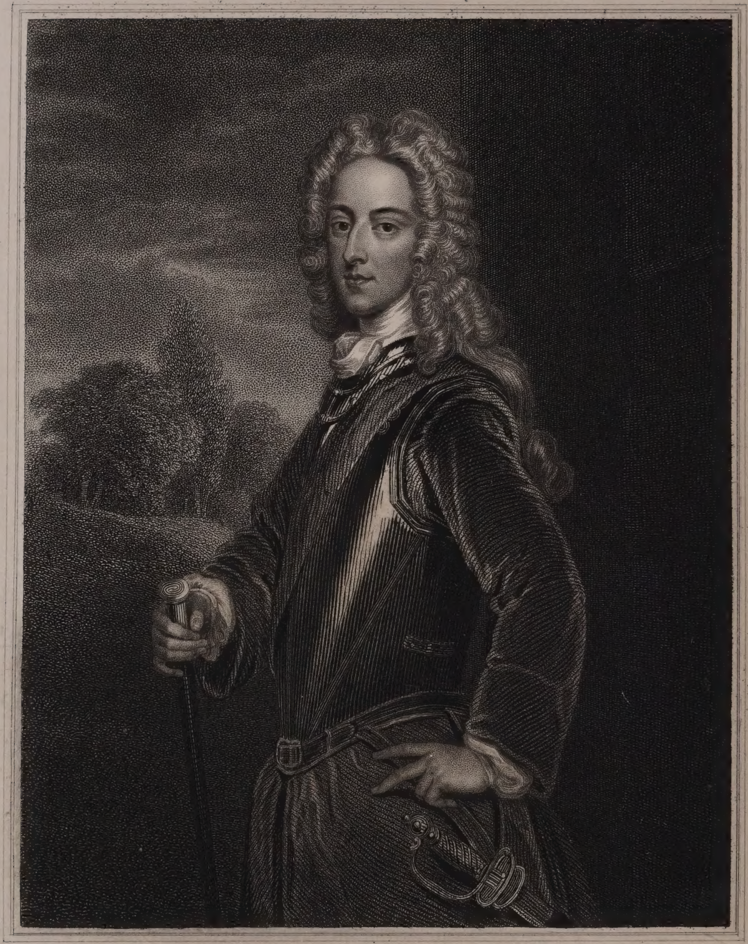
“ The inclosed Paper will give you a melancholy account of a very severe cold that my wife dosse at present lye under. Wee desire your advice upon it, although shee is at more eas at present than shee hath been, yet wee want to gett rid of these paines, by your opinion and direction most proper to bee done under our present circumstances.

“ As to myself, my bleeding stopt the day before my servant returned, so that I did not bleed—It was occasioned by a timorous surgeon, wro pricked 3 times with a shaking hand, without bleeding an ounce, therefore I stopt him. I have not taken any of the electuary for the same reason that I bleed no more, but I have taken Acton waters, boyled to half the quantity. It did operatte well, and I am very well, and free from those bleedings, but I doe begin to have breakings out of redness on my hands and armes. These scorbutick humoures you know I am subject too at this time of the year, but otherwise I am perfectly well in health, but not in my hearing. Pray what opinion have you of one Duckett, lately come up to town, who is mentioned in the newes papers as having done very great cures on people who have been deaff some years?

"I had the last week a letter from one Mr. W. Bedford. Hee sent me a certificatte from the Vice-chancellor, and severall heads of colleges, that hee is a man of good learning and sobriety, as is testifyed to them by severall eminent physicions; that, as he hath been educated abroad, hee cannot be admitted without his Majesty's royall letter. I desire your opinion of him as to his skill in the profession of physick, for I know not whoe nor where he is, for hee dothe not tell mee; nor when hee will come to mee for my certificatte to the Secretary of Statte, therefore I doe desire your opinion of him. I am your very humble servant,

"SOMERSET."

The Duke died at Petworth on the second of December, 1748, and was buried in Salisbury Cathedral. His marriages have been already stated. By his first Duchess he had issue Algernon, his successor; Percy, and Charles, who died unmarried; Elizabeth, married to Henry Obrien, Earl of Thomond; Catherine, to Sir William Wyndham, of Orchard Wyndham, in Somersetshire, Bart.; Anne, to Peregrine Osborn, Marquis of Caermarthen; and Frances, who died unmarried. His second Lady brought him two daughters; Frances, married to John Manners, Marquis of Granby, eldest son of John, Duke of Rutland; and Charlotte, to Heneage Finch, second Earl of Aylesford.



Engraved by W. Finden.

JOHN, DUKE OF MONTAGU.

OB. 1749.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF KNELLER, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^{BLE} THE EARL OF EGREMONT.

London, Published Nov^{r} 1, 1835, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

JOHN MONTAGU,

SECOND DUKE OF MONTAGU,

WAS the only surviving son of Ralph, Lord Montagu, of Boughton, in the county of Northampton, who had been created by William and Mary, Viscount Monthermer, and Earl of Montagu, and, by Queen Anne, Marquis of Monthermer, and Duke of Montagu, by Elizabeth, one of the daughters and coheirs of Thomas Wriothesley, fourth and last Earl of Southampton of that family, and relict of Jocelyn Percy, eleventh Earl of Northumberland. He was born in 1688, or in the following year, and in 1705 married Mary, fourth and youngest daughter and coheir of John Churchill, the great Duke of Marlborough. He succeeded to the honours and superb estates of his father on the ninth of March, 1708-9.

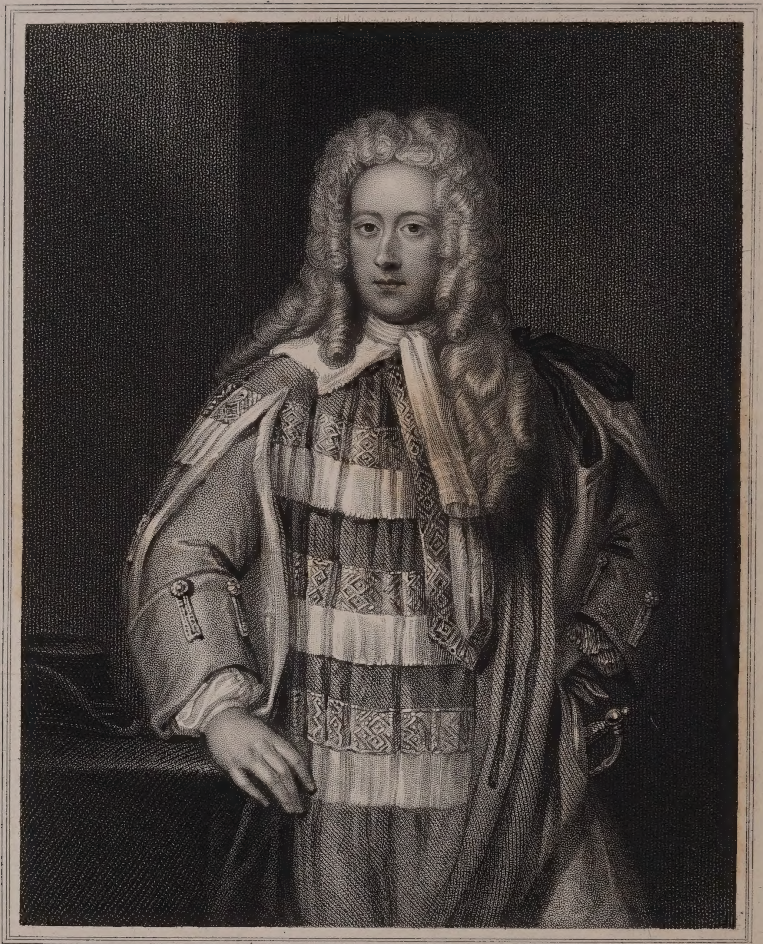
Little has been delivered to us respecting the character and conduct of this nobleman, who seems to have been content to confine himself merely to the sphere of the court, and with offices there which, though not beneath his dignity, were certainly of an order very inferior to such as it might have entitled him to challenge. He officiated as Constable of England at the coronation of King George the first, who on the eleventh of October, 1715, appointed him colonel of the first regiment of foot guards; on the thirty.first of March, 1718, gave him the Order of the Garter; and on the revival of that of the Bath, in 1725, constituted him Great Master. He was also Master of the Great Wardrobe, an office in the royal household, which had been settled on his father by patent, with remainder to himself; and I find him styled "Lord Proprietor, and Captain General, of the Islands of St. Lucia, and St. Vincent, in America," probably by virtue of grants which reverted to the Crown at his death.

On the twenty-seventh of August, 1733, he was made Governor of the Isle of Wight, and in the succeeding June captain of the band of gentlemen pensioners; and in 1736 was called to the Privy Council. Though he abounded in military appointments, he seems never to have been in active service. He received in 1735 a commission of Major General, and in 1739, of Lieutenant General; and on the twelfth of May, 1740, became Master General of the Ordnance, and Colonel of the Queen's Regiment of Horse; and was now, as again in 1745, and 1748, one of the Lords Justices for the administration of the government, during the periods which occurred in those years of the absence of George the second at Hanover. On the occurrence of the rebellion in 1745, he raised a regiment in the counties of Northampton and Warwick, of which he was Lord Lieutenant, but Lord Orford informs us that the men were paid by the Crown: the Duke's loyalty however was acknowledged in the following year by the grant of a commission of General of the Horse. The witty and severe Sir Charles Hanbury Williams has a satirical poem on the noble raisers of troops in that time, entitled "the Heroes," in which he bestows these lines on the Duke of Montagu—

> " Three regiments one Duke contents,
> With two more places you know ;
> Since his Bath knights,
> His Grace delights
> In tria junct' in uno."

We find perhaps in his private character the causes which tended to detach his mind from that inclination to important employment in the state which generally excites the ambition of men of his rank—He was an eccentric humourist, but with a heart overflowing with kindness and generosity; and his irresistible affection to the surprising and the ridiculous seldom failed to insinuate itself even into those noble acts of beneficence which ought to immortalize his name. The neighbourhood of Boughton, his favourite seat, in Northamptonshire, still cherishes abundant traditionary anecdotes of this singular disposition; for it is chiefly to the perhaps safe evidence of tradition that we owe our knowledge of it. His tenderness was extended to (possibly the truest test of its excess and genuineness) every class of animated nature. His tenants and dependents were strictly charged neither to work nor to kill their old or disabled cattle; but to bring them to his park, a portion of which was set apart for their reception, which he called "the reservoir," in which they remained till their natural death. The Memoirs of the Kit Kat club, the only printed work which records his amiable extravagances, informs us that "he was constantly seeking for objects whereon to exercise his benevolent propensities, and was remarkable for performing acts of charity and kindness with a singularity and dexterity of achievement which at once astonished and confounded the persons on whom his favours were lavished; and he used to declare that it was this very surprise in the party which afforded him so much delight and amusement; and that the pleasure with which he bestowed a benefit on a deserving individual was precisely in proportion to the opportunities he had of making the reverse so much the more extraordinary and unlooked for." These statements are followed, and beautifully illustrated, by a narrative too long to be here inserted, and too interesting throughout to admit of abridgement,

John, Duke of Montagu died of a virulent fever, at his house in Privy Gardens, Whitehall, on the sixteenth of July, 1749, without male issue, leaving two daughters, his coheirs; Isabella, married, first, to William Montagu, second Duke of Manchester; secondly to Edward Hussey, of Ireland; and Eleanor, to George Brudenel, fourth Earl of Cardigan, who in 1766 assumed her family surname, and in whom the titles of Marquis of Monthermer, and Duke of Montagu, were then revived, and, by whose death in 1790, without male issue, again became extinct.



Engraved by W.T.Fry.

HENRY St. JOHN, VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE.

OB. 1751.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF KNELLER, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HONBLE. THE EARL OF EGREMONT.

London, Published Octr. 1. 1835, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

HENRY ST. JOHN,

FIRST VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE.

THE life of Lord Bolingbroke is one of those lessons by which mankind are taught that genius, learning, wit, the loftiest aspirations and the happiest opportunities for realising all that honest ambition can suggest to a great mind, are bestowed in vain, unless they are accompanied by prudence, and integrity of principle. His character has been made alternately by his friends and by his enemies a theme of the highest panegyric, and of the blackest censure. The opinions of posterity are likely to be as much divided as were those of his contemporaries, and the only safe conclusion that can be arrived at is that he possessed an extraordinary mixture of good and of evil, of greatness and meanness, of that which ennobles as well as of that which disgraces mortality.

He was the only child of Sir Henry St. John, of Battersea, in Surrey, by his first wife, Mary, second daughter and coheir of Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick, and was born in 1672. The course of his early education was such as might have checked the growth of parts less brilliant than his. His grandmother, the daughter of the republican Chief Justice St. John, was strongly tinctured with the puritanical zeal which had flourished during Cromwell's usurpation, and which had not yet been wholly eradicated by the licentious state of public morals that had ensued. Under the inspection of this lady his education was commenced: the tutor of his most tender infancy was her spiritual guide, the fanatical Daniel Burgess, and his first steps in learning were made through Dr. Manton's hundred and nineteen sermons on the hundred and nineteenth Psalm. At Eton School, and at Christ Church, Oxford, the impressions of his childhood were presently effaced, and his wit blazed forth with a brilliancy equalled only by the force and prematurity of his understanding. He made his first appearance in the great world with a high reputation ; but even at that period his love of pleasure had excited the apprehensions of his friends. Besides considerable learning, of which his accurate and retentive memory gave him the most perfect command, he possessed a fine taste, an inexhaustible imagination, and a rapid and irresistible eloquence ; and added, to a remarkably handsome and graceful person, elegant and prepossessing manners, with a flow of animal spirits which excess could not exhaust, and which disappointment had not yet controlled. Up to the age of twenty-eight, with talents which might have gained him universal respect and admiration, he had done nothing but establish a character for consummate dissipation ; and his most notable triumphs had been exploits which sometimes scandalised all decency and manliness. One of his biographers has said, that this period of his life " may be compared to that of fermentation in liquors, which grow muddy before they brighten ; but it must also be confessed, that those liquors which never ferment are seldom clear :" an apology which contains more of ingenuity than of soundness.

In the year 1700, he formed a matrimonial connection with the wealthy heiress of Sir Henry Winchcomb, of Bucklebury, Berks ; but the union was so ill-assorted, that, after a short period, passed in incessant dissensions, they separated by mutual consent. In the same year he took his seat in Parliament, as member for Wootton Bassett. His graceful and impassioned eloquence, the solidity of his judgement, and the comprehensive views which he took of business, attracted the notice of every party ; but, to the disappointment of his dissenting friends, he at once espoused the side of the Tories ; attached himself closely to Harley, their leader ; assisted him powerfully in the busy debates which ensued ; and exerted himself at no time more earnestly than in the discussions respecting the bill against occasional conformity, which he supported as vigorously as, considering his early education, and his family connections, it was expected he would have opposed it. In 1704 Mr. Harley was appointed Secretary of State, and Mr. St. John was at the same time entrusted with the office of Secretary at War. He had probably little personal regard even at this time for the Duke of Marlborough, but he had adopted, together with his colleagues, a conviction that the duration of the war would be a great evil to the country, and he therefore exerted himself to furnish the general with the means of striking such decisive blows as were calculated to bring it to a termination. The most brilliant exploits of that great commander, and the munificent rewards which were heaped upon him by the nation, occurred while Mr. St. John was at the head of the war department. Tory as he was, and pledged to the establishing of the Tory party and Tory principles on the destruction of the Whigs, he had too strong a sense of his country's true interests, and too generous a feeling towards Marlborough, for whose talents he had a high admiration, to do any thing, or to leave any thing undone, which might interfere with the success, or moderate the triumph of either.

In 1708 his party was doomed to yield to the influence of their opponents. Harley was dismissed, and St. John unhesitatingly resigned his own office, an act the more gracious because it was a voluntary sacrifice to political principle. The new ministry successfully opposed his re-election in the ensuing Parliament, and he retired to spend in privacy and study the two following years, a period which he often afterwards said was the most active of his life. In 1710 the power of the Tories was once more in the ascendant. Harley was made Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. St. John Secretary of State. Now it was that the vigour and versatility of his talents were tasked to their utmost, and were found equal to the performance of duties more important and multifarious than it had ever before fallen to the lot of a minister to discharge. The peace of Utrecht was to be accomplished, in spite of innumerable difficulties,— against the opinions of the repulsed but not defeated Whigs,—against the opposition of the House of Lords,—against the more powerful, though more secretly exerted, influence of the Bank of England, the East India Company, and the whole monied interest of the country,—against the popular names of the Duke of Marlborough, and Prince Eugene,—against the jealous intrigues of the Emperor, and such of the allies as found their interest in continuing the war, or feared to lose by the peace,—and notwithstanding the weakness of the Queen, and the timidity and envy of his colleagues. The first thing to be done was to prepare the public mind, by informing it of the real state of the country's foreign relations and domestic resources, which had been grossly misrepresented by party feelings and interests. To accomplish this Mr. St. John laboured in his speeches in Parliament; with this view he composed his official dispatches; and to the same end he wrote in the periodical publications of the day. The Examiner newspaper, which he planned with Prior and Atterbury, and which fell afterwards into the hands of Swift, was a main instrument in this design, and by convincing the people that the burthen and charges of the war rested on them, while the fruits were reaped by the allies, had a material influence on the elections for the new Parliament. St. John was the master-spirit that directed every movement. It was in vain that his political opponents endeavoured to make head against the immense power of public opinion which he had raised by these means. The bitter and unsparing sarcasm, the irresistible force of argument, and even the aid of strong invective, to which he and the unscrupulous Swift resorted, were feebly met by the polished periods of Addison, and the somewhat elaborate wit of Steele. Like one of those old Norman warriors whom he reckoned among his ancestry, he fought with a heavy mace, which he wielded with both hands, and with which he dealt such blows as crushed at once his enemies, and the brilliant but slender weapons they opposed to him. At length his work was accomplished; his enemies were unable to withstand the storm he had raised; the peace was determined on, Marlborough was displaced, and the conferences for the treaty of Utrecht were opened.

In 1712 he was raised to the peerage by the title of Baron St. John, of Lidyard Tregoze, in the county of Wilts, and Viscount Bolingbroke, in the county of Lincoln, with remainder, in default of issue male, to his father, Sir Henry St. John, and the heirs male of his body. At this period a dissension broke out between him and Harley, then Earl of Oxford, which accelerated the ruin of both. Lord Bolingbroke had been denied, or at least had expected, not only the dignity of an Earl, but the Order of the Garter, in which it happened at that time there were many vacancies. He obtained neither, and he believed that Harley's influence had produced him this mortification. He complained that he was dragged into the House of Lords at such a time as made his promotion a punishment and not a reward, and that he was left there to defend, almost alone, and without influence, the treaties which he had carried by his own personal weight in the House of Commons, where, he says to Sir William Wyndham, "You know, from the nature of that assembly, they grow, like hounds, fond of the man who shows them the game, and by whose halloo they are used to be encouraged."

In October, 1713, he was appointed Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the county of Essex, and soon afterwards went to Paris to conclude the treaty which his friend Prior had been for some time carrying on under his directions. Louis the fourteenth received him with every mark of distinction. His appearance at the opera there was greeted by a homage probably more sincere and much more flattering, the whole audience rising, and testifying by their acclamations the goodwill they felt for the man whose wise councils and persevering exertions had restored to them the blessings of peace. A month's residence in the French capital enabled Lord Bolingbroke to overcome the principal difficulties which remained, and assisted by the conciliatory temper of the Marquis de Torcy, whose benevolent and enlightened views on the subject were similar to his own, the peace of Europe was established. The expediency of this important measure gave rise to questions which occupied the public mind for many years, and upon which party feeling may be said even now to be hardly extinct. It does appear to have been disproportionate to the success which England and the allies had gained in the war; but Bolingbroke, after several years had elapsed, and when disappointment and adversity had cooled the fervour which he might once have felt respecting it, said, while he admitted the country ought to have reaped greater advantages from the "successful" folly it had committed, he was so convinced of the necessity of peace, that if he could be placed in the same circumstances again, he would again take the same resolution, and act the same part.

This was the termination of his glory, and here, if his history were to be concluded, it would, with the exception of faults committed during "the age of folly and the passions," be one of the most brilliant in modern history. Unfortunately for his reputation, as well as for his happiness, his after years were stained by graver faults, and embittered by their consequences; and that period of his life in which experience had matured the fruits of his early promise, without diminishing the elasticity of his spirit, was doomed to be passed under circumstances so painful that they impelled him to conduct which rendered his patriotism questionable, and raised suspicions against his honour.

One of those sudden changes in politics which happen in no country but England, occurred at this time. There were two classes of Tories; one was attached to the House of Hanover, the others were the adherents of the fallen fortunes of the Stuart family. The former party, with the most ridiculous versatility, joined the Whigs, whose power they believed would predominate upon the Queen's death. The first object of attack for the new coalition was the late treaty of peace, and the ministers were marked for their victims. At this time, when an union of their strength was more than ever necessary, the mutual dislike of

Oxford and Bolingbroke had increased to such a degree that each seemed to prefer encountering the worst dangers to ensuring their safety by a co-operation. Lord Oxford's disgrace came first, and the exultation which Bolingbroke did not scruple to testify was scarcely over when his own followed. The death of the Queen annihilated his power and crushed his expectations. On the accession of George the First he was dismissed from his office with insult. He was aware that he could expect no quarter from the Whigs, for he knew he had deserved none: he was threatened with a prosecution, and apprehended that "his blood was to be the cement of a new alliance." He therefore determined on flight, and, after announcing his intention to brave the storm, and appearing frequently in public to give a countenance to his assertion, he withdrew privately to France. His enemies were now left to pursue their hostile designs against him without opposition. Sir Robert Walpole conducted an impeachment against him in the House of Commons, and on the 10th of September, 1715, he was attainted of high treason.

Soon after his first arrival in France, in March, 1715, he had been solicited to join the party of the Pretender there; but receiving, at the same time, a well-meant caution from Lord Stair, the English Ambassador, he promised that nobleman that he would enter into no Jacobite engagements. This promise he says he kept, but it is difficult to reconcile that assertion with his subsequent conduct, unless an implied condition be understood, that, on the failure of his attempts to get his attainder reversed, he should be freed from his engagement. It was not until he saw that all his hopes in this respect were vain, that "with the smart of his attainder tingling in every vein," he accepted the office of Secretary of State to the titular king of England, James the Third. A very short experience sufficed to convince him of the utter hopelessness of James's cause. He saw that those who were most interested in it supported it so ill and so feebly; that their councils were so distracted, their means so small and so ill directed; that it could not but end in disaster and disappointment. He was disgusted at the falsehood and want of confidence he every where encountered, and was shocked at discovering that intriguers of the most wretched kind were permitted to meddle with matters on which the lives and fortunes of many noble and gallant persons depended, and which, as it was then believed, were intimately connected with the true interest of these realms. For some time however he exerted all the powers of his fertile mind and indefatigable industry in this ill-starred cause. He sent emissaries to England who might be trusted, and made such applications to the French Court, as, by compelling a distinct answer, if they did not accomplish the objects to which they were directed, would at least put an end to the mischievous delusions which had been kept up. The Chevalier's rash landing in Scotland, and his still more rash retreat, however, effectually destroyed all hope. Bolingbroke's discontent at his conduct, expressed in a moment when the influence of wine had thrown him off his guard, was repeated to his new master, and soon afterwards, before the year 1715 was at an end, he was dismissed from his post of Secretary, and the papers of his office, which he says might have been contained in a moderately sized writing case, demanded of him. His own account of this event is amusing :—" The Thursday following the Duke of Ormond came to see me, and after the compliment of telling me that he believed I should be surprised at a message he brought, he put into my hand a note to himself, and a little scrip of paper directed to me, and drawn in the style of a justice of peace's warrant. They were both in the Chevalier's hand-writing, and were dated on the Tuesday, in order to make me believe that they had been writ on the road, and sent back to the Duke. His grace dropped in our conversation, with great dexterity, all the insinuations proper to confirm me in this opinion. I knew at this time that his master was not gone, so that he gave me two very risible scenes, which are frequently to be met with when some people meddle in business ; I mean that of seeing a man labour with a great deal of awkward artifice to make a secret of nothing, and that of seeing yourself taken for a bubble, when you know as much of the matter as he who thinks that he imposes on you."—He gave up such of the papers as were at hand, but, with a candour which the Chevalier's treatment of him hardly deserved, kept, until he had a safer opportunity of delivering them to him, some letters, in which he had expressed a very unceremonious opinion of his General's capacity. To add the last degree of ridicule to this affair, the Chevalier had articles of impeachment prepared against him, by which he was accused of having neglected and betrayed the duties of the office with which he had been entrusted. He answered these articles by a prompt and complete refutation, and congratulated himself that the Chevalier had, by his own act, broken the links of the chain which his engagement had fastened on him. Lord Stair had received instructions to detach him from the Jacobite interest, if it might be practicable, and no sooner learnt this rupture than he sent a gentleman to inform him that George the First was willing to grant him a pardon, and to assure him of his own good offices in bringing about his restoration. This offer was accompanied by a proposition that he should make certain discoveries, which he unhesitatingly and firmly rejected, but, at the same time, explained his intention of addressing to the Tories of England, a great portion of whom were Jacobites, such a statement of the late affairs as the conduct of the Chevalier towards him, and the safety of his friends, no less than the vindication of his own honour, had rendered necessary ; and which, he said, he thought would contribute to the establishment of the government, and the union of the people. Lord Stair felt the force of his representations, and advised the King to accede to them. Bolingbroke soon afterwards received a promise of pardon on the expiration of the Parliament by which the attainder against him had been passed, and which had yet nearly seven years to run. His father in the mean time, as an earnest of the King's intentions, was created Baron of Battersea and Viscount St. John, with remainder to his younger sons; and Bolingbroke put in practice the intention he had expressed to Lord Stair, by publishing his well-known letter to Sir William Wyndham.

In 1716 (his former wife having died soon after he went abroad) he married a young lady of great beauty and accomplishments, the widow of the Marquis de Villette, and a niece of Madame de Maintenon. In her society he enjoyed the happiness which he had failed to find in his former marriage, and they remained in France until 1723, when, the Parliament being dissolved, he received a pardon. This however fell very far short of what he wished and of what he expected. He had hoped that he should be able to overcome the inveterate hatred of Sir Robert Walpole, his old foe, and now the first Minister; and to compass that design, he had adopted the most conciliatory conduct towards him. Without relaxing in those civilities, he engaged, by means of a bribe of £11,000, the assistance of the Duchess of Kendall, George the First's favourite mistress, who exerted herself so powerfully, that Walpole, contrary to his own feelings and judgement, and enforced by a threat of dismissal from office if he should persist in his opposition, carried a Bill through Parliament, restoring Bolingbroke in blood, and to the enjoyment of his family estates, but excluding him from his seat in the House of Peers. He now bought Dawley, near Uxbridge, a seat of Lord Tankerville's, whither he retired, as he gave it out, for the purpose of avoiding all temptations to mingle in the busy scenes of the world, and with a determination to devote himself wholly to study and rural enjoyments. He wrote exulting to Swift that he had, in the gardener's phrase, "laid hold of the ground, and that neither friends nor enemies would find it easy to transplant him;" but he either deceived himself or sought to deceive others. He was extremely desirous for a full restoration, of which, he said, the King had made him frequent solemn and unsolicited promises, and on the faith of which he had returned to England. He wrote to George the First claiming the fulfilment of this promise, but being unable to obtain it, his patience was exhausted, and he determined to try what his hostility would do against the minister whom his forbearance, and even his repeated submissions, had failed to move. He openly attributed to Walpole the proscription under which he laboured, and accused him of meanness and treachery, which he had affected to conceal under the mask of good will towards him; he declared open warfare against the minister, joined Mr. Pulteney and the discontented Whigs, and embarked with all his strength in an opposition. The influence of his powerful pen was again felt: a quantity of pamphlets, and a still greater number of papers in the Craftsman, a periodical publication of that day, conducted with great violence and ability, testified his unabated strength, and the intensity of his resentment. Walpole felt his power totter, but the unconquerable nerve which always distinguished him prevented his evincing the slightest apprehension, while it confirmed the King, strengthened his party, and eventually triumphed. Bolingbroke, through the means of the Duchess of Kendall, procured a memorial against Walpole to be delivered to the King and requested an audience. Walpole, instead of opposing, backed this request. Bolingbroke had his audience, and when Walpole asked the King what his adversary had said, his Majesty replied, "Bagatelles! bagatelles!" It was impossible for Bolingbroke now not to be convinced, by the repeated mortifications he had endured, that he struggled in a hopeless contest. The spirit of the times was different from that in which he had created and directed the force of public opinion; the occasion was wanting; and he had an opponent of a very different kind to cope with. Their relative positions too were changed; Walpole was in the very plentitude of his power—the minister who dispensed the gifts and favours of the government:—Bolingbroke was a helpless, hopeless individual, whose presence in the country seemed to be by the sufferance of his very enemies, and who, besides his talents, had no other distinction than that formed by the contrast between the once palmy state of his fortunes and their present degradation. In 1735 he found, too, that some of his coadjutors were disposed to depart from the views they had originally taken; his disgust at this discovery broke out into reproaches; quarrels ensued; and after ten years of unsparing warfare against the ministry, he determined to lay down his weapons. He had discovered that neither his parts, which everybody acknowledged, and which his enemies feared, nor the unostentatious life he had been leading for so many years, could procure the reversal of his attainder, and he determined to withdraw to France, where he should at least avoid the mortification of being in sight of the object of his wishes, after he had convinced himself that to attain it was impossible.

In his retreat at Chanteloup, he wrote his "Letters on the Use and Study of History," a work in which the beauties and the blemishes are so intimately blended, as to furnish ample materials for the praises of his admirers, and for the worst censures of his foes. Its main and unpardonable fault is, that it attacks the authority of revealed religion, and some points of theology, a science of which the author was profoundly ignorant, and in which his speculations are as frivolous as they are blameable. In some letters which he afterwards published "On the true Use of Study and Retirement," he appeared to greater advantage, and expressed some highly original and philosophical observations with great power and eloquence. On the death of his father, who attained to a very advanced age, he returned to England, and took up his residence in the family mansion at Battersea, after which he went very little into public. In his intimacy with the Prince of Wales, the son of George the Second, those who impugn his memory have affected to discover marks of the angry spirit which had actuated the former part of his life, and have accused him, somewhat hastily, of having fomented the lamentable differences which prevailed at this period in the royal family. Here he wrote his "Letters on the Spirit of Patriotism," and the "Idea of a Patriot

King," and he was engaged on "Some Reflections on the State of the Nation," when death put a period to his eventful and disturbed life. As a writer his productions were voluminous; among the political portion of them there are proofs of such rare and exalted talents as entitle him to an eminent literary reputation: the parts which consist of religious speculations have been often repeated, but are now fallen into the oblivion they deserve. He died on the twelfth of December, 1751, in that house where he had often expressed a wish to breathe his last sigh, of a cancer in the cheek, and was buried in Battersea church.

He left no issue of either of his marriages.